The Souk

The Story of South Lebanon: Marketplace, People, and Institutions

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Abstract

The Souk—The Story of South Lebanon: Marketplace, People, and Institutions

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The purpose of the study is to understand the dynamic and relationship between market and society in South Lebanon by focusing on how rural weekly markets in South Lebanon are embedded within social, political, and economic relations. The study presents an ethnographic journey through the weekly markets in South Lebanon. It looks at two case examples of weekly markets: Monday Market in Nabatieh (Souk Tanein in Nabatieh) and Thursday Market in Bint Jbeil (Souk Khameis in Bint Jbeil), as well as draws on examples of other weekly markets in South Lebanon. The findings demonstrate that rural weekly markets in South Lebanon are not autonomous, but subordinate to social, political, and economic relations that have played a significant role in their existence and persistence over time. History, geography, social relations, political leadership, policy, and power play a critical role in their formation, growth, and sustainability. Their sustained existence over time is further driven by social and cultural factors such as norms, values, and practices found within the marketplace; this perception is found among sociologists and political economists, and is shared by local municipal leaders, vendors, and people who see these markets as economically inconsequential, but socially and culturally significant. Continuous existence of these weekly markets cannot be explained using classical economic theory, nor can they be analyzed using a single sociopolitical theory on markets. Instead, the historical, geographical, social, political, and cultural factors interact in a critical manner in their evolution and sustained existence over time.

Keywords: Souk, market, marketplace, weekly markets, periodic market, embedded, South Lebanon, Souk Nabatieh, Souk Bint Jbeil.

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Special thanks for Ms. Yara Ajami, who helped me put together a short documentary on the weekly markets in Lebanon.

Dedication

This is dedicated to my family. To my parents, who taught me that life is about hard work and perseverance. To Nasser, my husband, life companion, and best friend, without whom this work would have never seen light. To Rida and Adam, whose smiles helped me bear the burden of this long journey: You are the best thing that I could ever accomplish in my life. With your innocent wisdom, you have taught me patience, forgiveness, and humbleness. I hope you never, ever give up on your dreams. May the pursuit of knowledge and change be your lifetime mission.

Table of Contents

List of Figures

List of Acronyms

AUB	American University of Beirut
CAS	Central Administration for Statistics
CCIA	Chamber of Commerce, Industry, and Agriculture
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
EC	European Commission
EU	European Union
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations
GoL	Government of Lebanon
IDAL	Investment Development Authority of Lebanon
IDF	Israel Defense Forces
IFES	International Foundation for Electoral System
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IRFED	L'Institut International de Recherches et de Formation en Vue du Développment Integral Harmonisé
LCRP	Lebanon Crises Response Plan
LL	Lebanese Lira
LNM	Lebanese National Movement
NGO	Non-Governmental Organizations
PLO	Palestinian Liberation Organization
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNIFIL	United Nations Interim Forces in Lebanon
UNOCHA	United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs
UNRWA	United Nations Relief and Works Agency
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
USD	United States Dollars

List of Expressions

Abadayat **ابضيات**	Lebanese plural word for tough or strong men within a neighborhood, village, or community.
Aboukra **عبكرا**	Lebanese word for tomorrow.
Ahla bantaloun bi LL 10,000 **احلا بنطلون بي 10000ل ل**	Lebanese phrase for loveliest pants for $7.
Ajdad moudelat bas bi LL 12,000 **اجدد موديليت بس بي 12000ل ل**	Lebanese phrase for newest models for $8.
Al Sayed **السيد**	Arabic word for the Master. In Lebanon, it is used by members of the Shi religion to refer to a religious leader or the head of families that are supposedly descendants of the Prophet Mohamad's family. In the context of this research, it refers to Hassan Nassrallah.
Al Serail Al Hukoumi **السراي الحكومي**	Serail is an Ottoman Turkish word for government castle, place, or building. It is considered the government administrative center for the city, town, or region. It was often the home of the Wali and/or Muhafiz.
Ansar or Khyam detention camp	Ansar and Khyam are detention camps set up by the Israeli military (within the towns of Ansar and Khyam) following Israel's invasion of South Lebanon, retaining PLO members, freedom fighters, and Palestinian and Lebanese citizens captured by IDF Lebanon. In Ansar, more than 12,000 people were detained between 1982 and 1983, with the youngest 12 and the oldest 85. The camp was shut down in 1983, and more than 5,000 detainees were moved to more secure facilities (Ta'mari, 1984). Khyam detention camp was a French army barracks complex originally built in the 1930s. It became a base for the Lebanese army before falling under the control of the South Lebanon Army (SLA). In 1985 the base was converted into a detention camp that remained in use until Israel's withdrawal from Lebanon in May of 2000. After the withdrawal, the prison camp was preserved in the condition in which it was abandoned and converted into a museum by the Lebanese government. It was destroyed by Israeli warplanes in 2006 and rebuilt thereafter.
Areb w jareb **أرب و جرب**	Lebanese slogan chanted by vendors meaning come and try.
Ashoura **عاشوراء**	Yom Ashoura or Ashura is the tenth day of Muḥarram, the first month in the Islamic calendar. For the majority of Shia Muslims, Ashura marks the climax of the

	Remembrance of Muharram and commemorates the death of Hussein ibn Ali, the grandson of Prophet Muhammad, at the Battle of Karbala on 10 Muharram in the year 61 AH (Wikipedia, Britannica).
Aswak اسواق	Arabic/Lebanese plural word for markets.
Aswak Beirut [Beirut Markets] أسواق بيروت	Arabic world for markets located in Beirut Central Districts or Downtown Beirut. Today it refers to a big shopping center located in that area.
Baydar بيدر	An open space used for accumulating wheat crops after harvesting for sorting and purification. In Lebanese towns, the weekly markets used to reconvene around al baydar.
Beit Al Ankabout بيت العنكبوت	House of Spiders.
Bele بيلة	Lebanese word for used clothes.
bountro mnatara بونترو مناترا	Lebanese phrase for waiting for something.
Btitbeha بتيتبيها	Lebanese phrase for taking pride in something; showing off.
Byousdouna بيقصدونا	Lebanese phrase for customers who come specifically to see what the merchant has.
Caïmacam / qa'im maqam قائم مقام	Arabic word for Governor General/District Commissioner.
Caza قضاء	Arabic word for sub-district.
Dakakin دكاكين	Arabic word for small grocery stores.
Druze دروز	Druze is an Arabic-speaking esoteric ethnoreligious group located in the Levant area (Lebanon, Syria, Palestine, Israel). The Druze faith is monotheistic and based on the teaching of Islam; nonetheless, the faith incorporates elements of other religious and philosophies, creating a distinct and secretive theology known to interpret esoterically religious scriptures, and to highlight the role of the mind and truthfulness (Wikipedia, Britannica).
Dunums دنم	1,000-meter square; a unit of measure used during the Ottoman period that continues to be popularly used.
Eid Mbarak عيد مبارك	Blessed Eid.

Faisalieh **فيصلية**	A Lebanese dessert made from phyllo stuffed with cream cheese.
halawanjieh **حلونجية**	Lebanese word for sweet makers. In Lebanon, there are families well known for the tradition of making sweets.
Ala Hamesh al souk **على هامش السوق**	Lebanese phrase for along the margins of the market; on the peripheries of market days.
Harket Amal **حركة أمل**	Lebanese political party associated with Lebanon's Shia community. It was co-founded by Musa al-Sadr and Hussein el Husseini as the "Movement of the Dispossessed" in 1974 (Wikipedia, Britannica).
Hizballah **حزب الله**	Lebanese political party and militant group associated with Lebanon's Shia community. Also transliterated Hizbullah, Hezbolla.
hsab keef myasara **حسب كيف ميسرا**	Lebanese phrase for the availability of cash flow.
Husseinieh **حسينية**	A religious house used by Shiis to hold religious ceremonies such as ashoura, mourning, and commemorations.
Iltizam **إلتيزام**	The system of iltizam included the collection of taxes generated from farming of land, production of certain goods such as wine, and the provision of certain services. This process began during the reign of Sultan Mehmed II (1444-1946; 1451-1481) and was officially abolished in 1856. It however continued until the early 20th century.
Jazarieh **جزرية**	The term "jazarieh" comes from "jazar" or carrots in Arabic due to the resemblance to carrot slices preserve because of the orange color. However, pumpkin preserves are crunchier. "Jazarieh" is served as a dessert or snack with walnuts or blanched almonds.
Kebbe Nayeh **كبة نية**	Traditional South Lebanese dish made from raw meat that is ground on a wooden platform with a hammer until the meat becomes like paste; then it is mixed with special spices, herbs, and buckwheat to provide a very distinctive taste.
Keef il Wleid **كيف الوليد**	Lebanese phrase for how are the kids.
Khan **خان**	Foreigners' inn.
Knefe **كنفة**	Lebanese pastries made from puff pastry, soft cheese, and vermicelli topping, often served for breakfast or dessert.
Kora Saba **قرى السبع**	This refers to the seven villages that fall on the border between Lebanon and what is Israel today; after the 1948

land annexation, they were included within the territorial borders of Israel, but originally disputed to be part of Lebanon.

Lahm Beajin
لحم بعجين
Lebanese meat patties.

Maalak
معالق
Lebanese word for meat made from goat, sheep, or cow liver.

Mabrouk allah ykhalilek yeh
مبروك الله يخليلك يي
Lebanese phrase for God bless him and keep him safe.

Madi wa Tarikh
ماضي و تاريخ
Arabic phrase for past and history.

Mafroukeh
مفروكة
Mafroukeh is a traditional Lebanese dessert made of semolina, sugar, and butter infused with sugar syrup, orange blossom, and rose water. It is topped with a milk-based cream filling called ashta and roasted nuts.

Mahrajan
مهرجان
Arabic word for festival.

Malab Al Baladi
الملعب البلدي
Arabic word for community field.

Manakish
مناقيش
Lebanese dish made from dough spread out like pizza. It is topped with different toppings such as thyme, cheese, or any other topping. It is normally served for breakfast.

Manakish Kishek
منقيش بكشك
Lebanese dish made from dough topped with Kishek; It is a made from a mixture of bulgur fermented with yogurt. Once it is dry, it is ground into fine powder and used as topping for manakish or cooked with meat as a stew. It is a winter staple, often prepared by families in the villages in Lebanon.

Maslaha
مصلحة
Arabic word for craftsmanship/profession.

Maydaneh
ميدنة
Agricultural valley of Kfar Ruman.

Mkoukhieh
ملوخية
A Lebanese specialty dish made from leaves of Corchorus Olitorius, commonly known as Nalta jute or tossa jute. It has a bitter taste and when boiled it becomes a thick, slimy liquid. It is eaten cooked, not raw, and is most frequently turned into a stew cooked with chicken and served with white rice and accompanied with lemon, vinegar, and onion dressing.

Moukhtar **مختار**	Lebanese word for mayor.
Moultaka **ملتقى**	Lebanese word for meeting place.
Mouneh **مونة**	Lebanese word to describe food preserved for winter—including bulgur, flour, olives, dried figs, okra, lentil, white beans, thyme, summak, and dried herbs.
Mousahara **مصاهرا**	Arabic word for inter-family affinities.
Moussadet **مساعدات**	Arabic word for international aid assistance.
Muhafaza **محافظة**	Arabic word for Governante. It is a district or the chief place in which all public services are present under the authority of the Muhafez.
Muhafez/Muhafiz **محافظ**	Arabic word Governor.
Multazims **ملتزم**	Arabic word that refers to individuals contracted by the state to collect taxes and make payments to the Sultante in fixed installments.
Mustasarrifya **متصرفية**	Arabic word for new territorial and administrative divisions.
Namoura **نمورة**	Lebanese pastries made from wheat, sugar, almonds, and liquid sugar.
Occasion, ocassion, yalla ala occasion **أكزيون أكزيون يلا على الأكزيون**	Lebanese slogan chanted by vendors meaning sale sale come and see the sale.
Osmalieh **عصملية**	A traditional Lebanese dessert prepared with baked vermicelli pastry sandwiched between sweet cream and topped with Arabic fairy floss.
Rakwet ahweh	Turkish/Arabic coffee canisters.
Rizá Ala allah". kil wahed beykhoud rizéto **الرزق على الله! كل واحد بيخود رزقتو**	Lebanese phrase for wealth is of God's doing. Each person earns his sustenance.
Sabah El Kheir **صباح الخير**	Arabic phrase for Good morning.
Sabah el kheir ya hajj or hajeh **صباح الخير يا حجة**	Arabic phrase for good morning sir/madam. Hajeh or Hajj is a word used to refer to elderly people who have made the pilgrimage to Mecca, as in they did the duty of Hajj.

Sahtek Keef **صحتك كيف**	Lebanese phrase for how is your health. For females, it is sahtek; for males, it is sahtak.
Saj **صاج**	Traditional oven used to create bread and other dough-based food. In the past it was made from copper and operated on wood; now it is often made from stainless steel and works on gas or electric.
Security Zone	Area in Lebanon that was under occupation between 1978 and 2000, located along the borders between Lebanon and Israel.
Sfouf **صفوف**	Lebanese pastries made from wheat, cardamom spice, and pine nuts.
Shatle **شتل**	Arabic word for seedlings and plants.
Sheleh **شلة**	Lebanese word for group of friends.
Solider	Solider is a Lebanese company for the development and reconstruction of Beirut Central District (s.a.l) (Downtown Beirut) that was incorporated as a Lebanese joint stock company on May 5, 1994.
Souk **سوق**	Arabic word for a single market.
Souk El Ahad [Sunday Flea Market], **سوق الأحد**	Arabic word for Sunday market. In Lebanon it refers to a flea market located under a highway bridge close to Corniche al-Nahr in the east of Beirut. It was established more than 20 years ago. People gather to find an eclectic mix of trinkets, jewelry, antiques, clothes and electronics.
Souk Khameis **سوق الخميس**	Arabic word for Thursday Market; refers to the day of the week when the market is held.
Souk Kindarjieh **سوق الكندرجية**	Souk Kindarjieh is a Lebanese name for the Cobbler Market. Traditionally, the cobblers were located in the main towns such as Nabatieh, Bint Jbeil, and Tyre. People would visit on market day to buy or repair their shoes on that day. They had their own spot in the market referred to as Souk Kindarjieh.
Souk Tannein **سوق الإثنين**	Arabic word for Monday Market; refers to the day of the week when the market is held.
Souk al Shaabi **سوق الشعبي**	Arabic word for popular market.
Tanzimat **تنزيمات**	Arabic word for the time of reforms.

Taresh **طرش**	Lebanese word for small ruminant trade.
Thakafet baladiet **ثقافة بلديات**	Arabic phrase for knowledge on municipal governance.
tinad eliki wil ayleh **تنعاد عليكي و على العيلة**	Lebanese phrase for blessed year for you and the family.
Ubligtom **أبلغتوم**	Arabic word for you have been served.
Wardé, Baydoun	Wardé and Beydoun are fabric manufacturers and retailers well known across Lebanon and Middle East. Wardé was first established in the 1890s by Khalil Wardé (1864-1947) in the Souk Hamidiyyeh in Damascus at the time of the Silk Road. In 1924, Khalil Wardé inaugurated his second outlet on Allenby Street in Beirut's Central District, and since then the family moved to Beirut. Beydoun was established in 1920 by Fouad Beydoun, and it specialized in commodities imported from USA and Europe. In both cases, the second and third generation expanded the business for the supply of fabric not only in Lebanon, but throughout the Middle East.
Wali **والي**	Wali is an Arabic word for custodian or protector. During the Ottoman period, the Ottoman empire was sub-divided into provinces with set territorial boundaries referred to as vilayet (wilaya in Arabic). For each province, a governor also referred to as Wali was assigned.
Wazir al-dakhiliyya **وازير الداخلية**	Arabic word for Minister of Interior.
Wilayat [city states] **ولاية**	Wilayat is the Arabic plural word for Wilaya (Vilaya in Turkish), as in city state (or province). During the Ottoman period, the different territories of today Lebanon today fell under the auspices of different provincial boundaries and control at different periods in history, including Wilayat Sidon, Wilayat Beirut, Wilayat Acra, and Wialat Damascus. (See footnote 26.)
Za'atar **زعتر**	Arabic word for thyme. It is an aromatic blend of spices that combines toasted sesame seeds, dried thyme, dried marjoram, and sumac. It is mainly consumed for breakfast or dinner, but also used as a multi-purpose spice in food.
Zaatar Manakish	Lebanese dish made from dough topped with thyme.

Note on Photographs and Videos

The pictures included in the dissertation were obtained from my personal archive, from the personal archive of people or photographers I know, or otherwise copied from the internet. The copyright and privacy policy for the different websites varies. Where required due to copyright restrictions, permission to reprint was requested.

Appended to the dissertation is a video I created detailing the scope and thrust of my ethnographic journey through the weekly markets in South Lebanon, discussing how the markets are not autonomous, but subordinate to social, political, and economic relations that have played a significant role in the souk's existence and persistence over time.



Figure 1. Political Map of Lebanon.

From http://www.nationsonline.org/oneworld/map/lebanon_map.htm. This is part of the Nations Online Project. Data source: *World Statistics Pocketbook* 2008 edition, with updates from May 2010, available from https://unstats.un.org/home/.

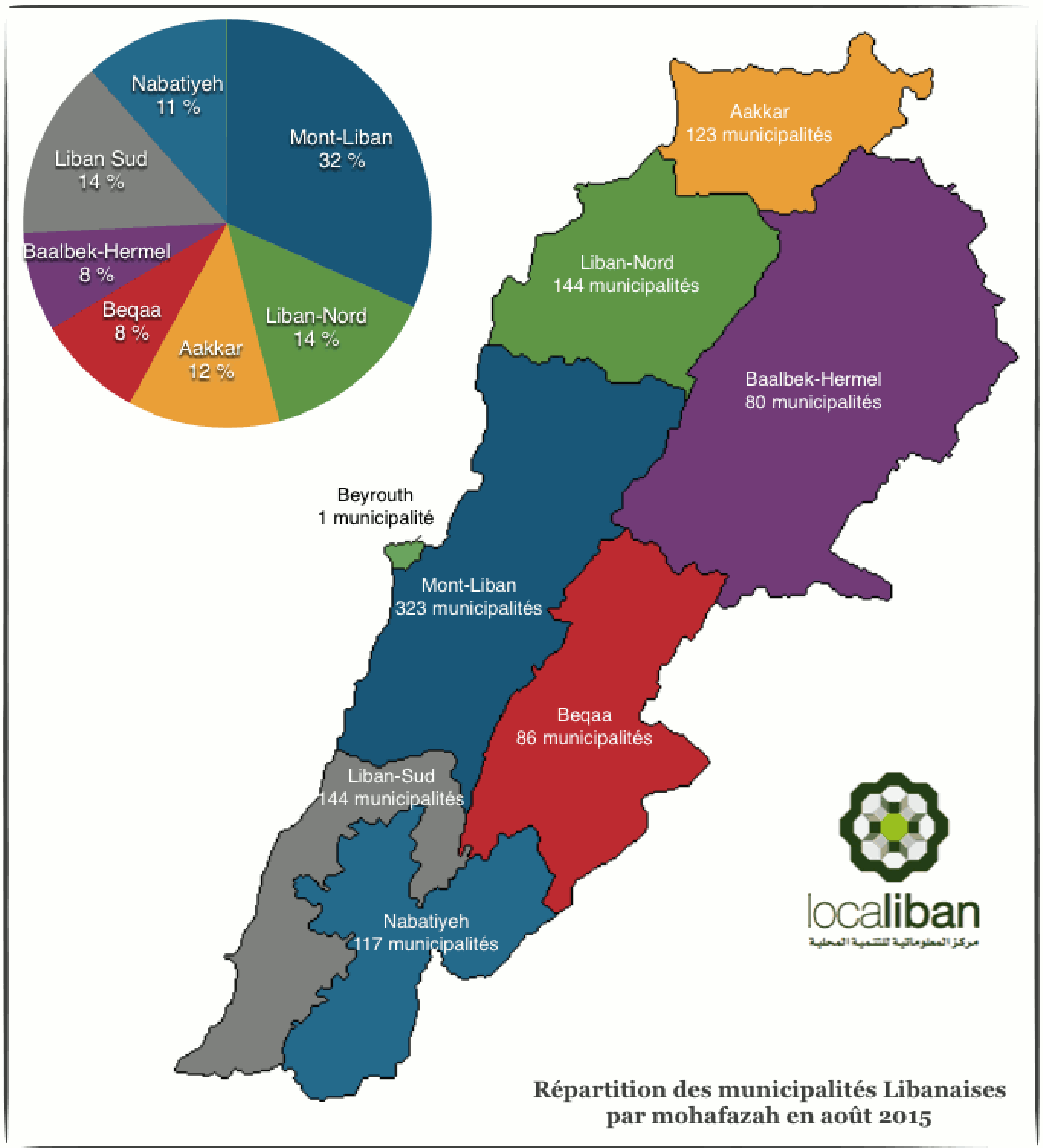


Figure 2. Map of Lebanon with municipal and population distribution across governorates. August 2015. From Local Liban: Information Center for Local Development.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The introductory chapter introduces the market scene in Southern Lebanon and identifies what is different about this market from the ones we see in other parts of the world, including the "West." This prompts the research question: How can we best understand the weekly markets in South Lebanon?

The Market Scene in South Lebanon

Lebanon is renowned for its markets and marketplaces. Evidence of the market in Lebanon dates back to the Phoenician time (600-330 B.C.) and is closely linked to the port cities of Tyre, Sidon, Beirut, Byblos, and Tripoli. At that time, the Phoenicians created a network of colonies and trade centers across the regions of the Mediterranean and the Red Sea, connected to the homeland via land routes. Their ships transported goods from and to Lebanon, the Atlantic coast of Africa, Britain, the Canary Islands, Arabia, and India. Their trade was not restricted to sea routes, as Phoenician caravans also operated throughout Western Asia, moving through well-established trading routes across Mesopotamia and India. The Phoenicians not only imported what they needed and exported what they cultivated and manufactured, but they also acted as middlemen traders, transporting goods such as papyrus, textiles, metals, and spices between different civilizations. Throughout Roman, Greek, and Islamic history, Lebanon's port cities continued to play a significant role in connecting the inland commercial centers to trade and commerce along the Mediterranean. For example, during the Ummayad period in the 7th century A.D., the inland commercial center of Anjar in Beqaa was created along two important trade routes that connected Beirut to Damascus and the Beqaa to Homs and Tiberiade in Syria. Similarly, in the 16th century, the Ottomans expanded on commercial centers, such as Nabatieh, Bint Jbeil, and Hasbaya, connecting Jerusalem, Acra, and Haifa to Damascus and the Hijaz region.

Today there are over 55 local *souks*[1] [markets] spread out across Lebanese coastal and hinterland cities, towns, and villages. At least ten out of the 35 markets continue to play a

[1] *Souk* is the Arabic word for market. For plural, they are referred to as *souks*. All markets are referred to as souks, regardless of the nature of the market. There has not been a national count of the number of permanent and weekly markets in Lebanon. Fifty-five is figured based on an estimate of 36 markets surveyed by UNIFEL in 2018 in the Muhafaza of Nabatieh and South Lebanon; 10 markets located in the major cities; and at least 10

critical role in the economy of the cities and towns where they are found: Tripoli, Byblos, Beirut, Zahle, Baalback, Sidon, Tyre, Bint Jbeil, Nabatieh, and Hasbaya. Out of the 55 markets, there are around 35 rural weekly or periodic markets located in the hinterland of South Lebanon, three of which (Souk Bint Jbeil, Souk Nabatieh, and Souk El Khan in Hasbaya) are considered the oldest, biggest, and most renowned and economically viable markets. The remaining markets can be classified as village markets and, therefore, play a less significant role in the political and social economy of the *Muhafaza*[2] [Governorate] and the *Caza*[3] [Sub-district] as a whole.

Souk Khameis in Bint Jbeil, Souk Tanein in Nabatieh, and Souk El Khan on Tuesdays in Hasbaya[4] emerged between the 14th and 16th centuries and continue to play a pivotal role within local town and village life in South Lebanon. Despite 400 years of Ottoman rule, the establishment of national boundaries, independence, closure of borders with Palestine, 25 years of civil war in Lebanon, 30 years of Israeli occupation of South Lebanon, globalization, urbanization, increased competition, improved transportation, unregulated structure, and low economic return, these markets continue to thrive. This prompts the question: Why do these weekly markets continue to exist, and what factors contribute to their continuity over time?

Journey to Discover the Weekly Markets in South Lebanon

The Friday Market in Gradačac was quite distinct from the bazaar[5]-style markets found within the big cities of Sarajevo, Mostar, and Banja Luka or war and post-war border trading markets such as Arizona Market created during the war by the International Community (Office of Human Resource, Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe, United Nations Mission in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Stabilization Force in Bosnia-Herzegovina) on a crossroad within the Brčko District neutral zone, where residents from the Croatian Federation, Serbian

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additional weekly or premenant markets spread throughout Lebanon including Souk Al Ahad, Souk Al Marej, Souk Deir Al Ahmar, Souk Douma and others.

[2] *Muhafaza* is the Arabic word for Governorate. It is a district or the chief place for all public services under the authority of the *Muhafez*, the Governor.

[3] *Caza* is a sub-district. There are around 26 cazas in Lebanon divided across 8 Muhafazas including Beirut, Mount Lebanon, North Lebanon, Akkar, Beqaa, Baalback-Hermel, South Lebanon and Nabatieh.

[4] *Tanein* is the Lebanese word for Monday. To distinguish between the Monday weekly market and the fixed market of Nabatieh, people refer to the weekly Monday Market of Nabatieh as *Souk Tanein* (can be written also as *Souk El Tanein* or *Souk Al Tanein*). The same is applied to Thursday Market in Bint Jbeil, which is referred to as *Souk Khameis* (can be written also as *Souk el Khameis* or *Souk al Khameis*). Souk Nabatieh and Souk Bint Jbeil will be used interchangeably to mean Monday Market in Nabatieh and Thursday Market in Bint Jbeil, respectively.

[5] Bazaar is a permanently enclosed marketplace or street where goods and services are exchanged or sold. In Lebanon, bazaar-style markets are located in the major coastal cities, such as the Old Souk of Sidon or Old Souk of Tripoli.

Republic, and Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina convened for the exchange of goods and services. Initially it was encouraged by the international community as a medium for inter-ethnic reconciliation, believing that warring ethnicities would set aside animosity in favor of commerce. With time, Arizona Market became a hub for illegal black-market activities including tobacco smuggling and human trafficking. In 2001, Arizona Market was privatized and re-opened in 2004 as an "out-of-town" mall and tourist attraction (Jeffrey, 2006). According to a marketing research team that visited the market in 2013, the market became more "institutionalized" in its structure, organization and space. The open flea style market with its ramshackle huts, wooden and tin stalls, street vendors and peddlers came to be replaced by well structured market space with regulated merchants selling different goods and services (Sredl, Shultz, & Brecic, 2017)

Arizona, at the time of the researcher's last visit, June 28, 2013, is markedly more institutionalized in its organization, infrastructure, and cleanliness. Ramshackle huts, makeshift wooden stalls, and muddy fields have largely disappeared. Paved roads, brick-and-mortar or corrugated-metal buildings, and indeed a generally clear, predictable, market-space with regulated merchants possessing a wide assortment of goods.

Gradačac Friday Market was also very different from the farmers markets that I observed in Manchester, New Hampshire, while completing my Master's degree in 1999; or Atwater Market,[6] Jean Talon Market,[7] Lachine Market, Maisonneuve Market,[8] and solidarity markets[9] spread throughout Montreal. It was also very different from the bazaar-style markets I visited in Istanbul, Damascus, Cairo, Irbil, and Casablanca during my travels over the years, which showed close resemblance to the port city markets of Tyre, Sidon, Byblos, and Tripoli in Lebanon.

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[6] Atwater Market is a farmers market that first started in 1933. Inside there is a restaurant, bakery, cheese shop and wine shop; outside is an open space market, with farmers stalls selling both locally produced and processed goods, as well as speciality imported items.

[7] Jean Talon Market is one of the oldest and largest public markets in Montreal, first established in 1933. It boasts of a wide range of fruit and vegetable growers, traders and shopekeeprs (butchers, bakers, fishmongers, grocers, and other), restaurants and speciality shops. It is open all year round. During the winter it is sheltered and during the summer it becomes an open-air market with flower growers, market gardeners, horticulturalist, and others. Its alleys are closed to vehicle traffic from Thursday to Sunday.

[8] Maisonneuve Market first opened in the early 20th century. It was closed by the municipality in 1960 and re-opened by the community as a farmers market in 1980. In the 1990s, it was transformed into a public market with shopkeepers and other merchants.

[9] Solidarity markets are operated by non-profit organizations that aim to improve the availability of fresh, local, and affordable products within poor neighborhoods. These markets, which emerged as a result of the community and citizen mobilization, have helped improve people's access to fresh fruit and vegetables in their own neighborhoods.

Gradačac Friday Market, more than the other markets I visited over the years, reminded me of the weekly markets in South Lebanon that I heard about, but never visited as a child growing up in Lebanon.



Figure 3. Općina Gradačac, May 2014. Panoramic view of Gradacas, Bosnia and Herzegovina, with the fortress, gardens and the streets where the weekly Friday Market is held. From http://www.gradacac.ba/naslovna/index.php/opcina-gradacac/kultura.

I grew up surrounded by stories of the weekly markets in South Lebanon. Almost every single family member or friend who was born or lived in South Lebanon comes from a village or a town that has a weekly market or is closely associated with a weekly market. The weekly market is part of the family oral history and tradition in people's lives. Everyone who comes from South Lebanon knows and is aware of these markets as part of their life or routine, regardless of whether they are a regular or occasional visitor to the market, or a vendor or trader engaged in market activities.

My father, Jawad Taher, was a street peddler at the age of 12, traveling from one town to another selling combs, trinkets, and other items, in the early 1950s. He would walk and/or bike every day around 10 km from Naqoura to Tyre on the coast in South Lebanon to sell his wares and earn money for a big family of 13 children. It was common for the eldest boy to drop out of school and help support the family. At that time, the only three weekly markets were Nabatieh, Bint Jbeil, and Souk El Khan located more than 35 km away. All the other weekly markets

within the vicinity, such as Qana, Bezourieh, and Abbasieh, did not exist at that time or people had to go through Tyre to get to them. Tyre was the biggest city in the vicinity and had its own permanent bazaar market, located next to the port.

My mother, Najla Jaffal, grew up in Bezourieh, a small village approximately 20 minutes Southeast of Tyre, South Lebanon. On Wednesdays, people would meet in the town center to buy and sell produce and products for their weekly household consumption. She recalls that during her childhood, she would walk with her mother or father to the town center of the village on market days to buy their household needs. The market at that time was located next to the town water source.

My mother's family comes from Kfarsir, a village around 15 minutes from Nabatieh. My great-grandfather, great-grandmother, great-aunts, and great-uncles were all closely linked to the Monday Market in Nabatieh. It was part of the family tradition to visit the Monday Market on a weekly basis.

My husband, Nasser Ajami, grew up in Abbasieh, a town close to Tyre. Abbasieh market convenes on Fridays. His family comes from a tradition of small ruminant traders. They migrated from Shiraz in Iran in the 1800s and settled in South Lebanon. They came to be known as the Ajamis. Their name changed from Shirazi to Ajami, a name given to families that come from Shiraz in Persia. His grandfather was a well-known small ruminant trader who moved between Lebanon, Syria, and Palestine. Cattle and small ruminant traders used to gather on Fridays in Abbasieh *Baydar* [an open space with access to water used for cattle exchange].

My sister-in-law, Lina Sharara, comes from Bint Jbeil, one of the oldest towns located in the hinterland of South Lebanon, known for its Thursday Market. Even though she was raised in Beirut, she used to spend the summers in Bint Jbeil. She grew up with stories of Bint Jbeil Thursday Market.

My friend Ahlam Awada comes from Khayam, a town close to the border, around 20 minutes from Souk El Khan in Hasbaya, and known for its Friday weekly market. Another friend, Ruba Mousa, comes from Jbeia, a town located in South Lebanon. Her father, Hassan Moussa, an Arabic teacher, recalls stories of the Friday Market in Jbeia.

I could go on and on with the number of family members, friends, and acquaintances who are familiar with the weekly markets either directly or indirectly through stories of family

members that visited these markets or whose family members were traders who engaged in the weekly markets.

I was always fond of markets, bazaars, khans, and souks. I never missed an opportunity to visit one during my travels. Shops; stands; tents; clothes hanging on racks; shoes stacked on top of each other; plastic containers on the ground; toys; watches; accessories; spices in sacks; scarves; clothes piled on the ground; fish in buckets; meat hanging in the front of the store; merchandise sold out of a van; farmers selling produce; women selling pickles and jams; people walking; girls holding hands; friends saying hello; a mother with her toddlers; a convenience store; a mosque; a cemetery; a municipal office; an abandoned water basin; people chatting; Fairuz[10] playing in the background; vendors calling; people bargaining; the smell of *za'atar*[11] [cheese] and *kishek manakish*[12] made on *Saj*;[13] Arabic (Turkish) coffee served in a small copper canister; *knafe*, *namoura*, and *sfouf*[14] displayed on large trays. This is a common scene observed in almost every weekly market visited in South Lebanon. There is nothing organized about the market scene. It is a collection of visual images, sensations, and sounds linked together by the tradition of people visiting the market. It is like being in a street carnival with masses of people, vendors, families, children, old, and young, walking, talking, smiling, and laughing at the same time. You are surrounded by music, food, goods, and services of all kinds. You can feel the energy of the market resonating miles ahead. The sounds, the smell, the colors, and the mix of people within the market cannot be missed.

My journey to rediscover the weekly markets in South Lebanon started in 2008, when I started my PhD research. Initially, I started my research with a number of myths on the nature of weekly markets in Lebanon, most of which have been disputed over the course of the research.

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[10] Fairuz (Fayrouz) is a Lebanese singer who is considered an icon in modern Arabic music and one of the most admired and influential singers in the Arab world. For Lebanese she is a reminder of the Golden periods of Lebanese modern history.

[11] *Za'atar* is the Arabic word for thyme. It is an aromatic blend of spices that combines toasted sesame seeds, dried thyme, dried marjoram, and sumac. It is mainly consumed for breakfast or dinner, but also used as a multi-purpose spice in food.

[12] *Manakish* is dough spread out like pizza. It is topped with different toppings such as thyme, cheese, or any other topping. It is normally served for breakfast. *Kishek* is a made from a mixture of bulgur fermented with yogurt. Once it is dry, it is ground into fine powder and used as topping for manakish or cooked with meat as a stew. It is a winter staple, often prepared by families in the villages in Lebanon.

[13] *Saj* is an old traditional oven used used to make bread in the villages. In the past it was made from copper and operated on wood; now it is often made from stainless steel and works on gas or electric.

[14] *Knafe*, *namoura*, and *sfouf* are different forms of Lebanese pastries. People can have them for dessert and also for breakfast as the case with knafe.

I assumed, based on tales I heard over the years, that the weekly markets evolved as part of the caravan route of families moving from Central Asia (Iran, Iraq, Turkey, and the Caucasus region) and the Arabian Gulf (Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Yemen, and Oman) and settling in Lebanon. I discovered that this might have been the case for the emergence and development of towns and villages in Lebanon, but it is not the primary reason for the establishment of markets (Bazzi, 1998; Mazraani, 1999; Wehbeh, 2012). In fact, the weekly markets in Lebanon—specifically, Souk Nabatieh and Souk Bint Jbeil—are linked to a history of trade and exchange within the region that started during antiquity and evolved during the late Mamluk (1250-1517) and Ottoman period (1517-1908) as part of a Sultanate policy to extend trade routes across the Ottoman Empire. It was part of the internal pilgrim route as pilgrims moved from Jerusalem, to Damascus in Syria, to Mecca in Saudi Arabia, and to Najaf in Iraq. These and other weekly markets in Lebanon are not autonomous and did not emerge as a result of pure supply and demand, but through political leadership and decisions at that time.



Figure 4. Sidon old souk, June 15, 2017. G. Deriane (Photographer). From http://www.lebanoninapicture.com.

I was under the impression that these markets are experiencing a downturn and therefore something should be done to preserve them. I discovered that these markets have not diminished, but in fact mushroomed and multiplied in the last 25 years and if anything, municipal government should work on consolidating them so they are more economically viable. Markets did not recede as a result of urbanization and access to city centers, but continued to become more prominent. They didn't get suffocated by the rise of malls, shopping centers, and other urban markets. They continue to exist, thrive, and expand. In the last 15 years, there was proliferation of shopping malls in Sidon, Nabatieh and Tyre. You would imagine with this proliferation, residents of these communities would stop going to the souk or that shoppers would prefer the shopping mall to the souk. This is not the case. The number of village weekly markets proliferated. The souk continued to attract a good number of people. The vendors, products, clients, prices, and process of exchange in the weekly market souk is different than that found in urban shopping centers.

I visited over 15 markets spread throughout Lebanon, starting with the coastal markets and moving inland. On the coast, I visited the old bazaar markets of Tripoli, Byblos, Tyre, and Sidon (see Figure 4) located at the port of entry to the major Lebanese cities, all of which were established during Phoenician and Roman times and have played a significant role throughout history, particularly in their relationship and trade with the West. Even though these markets were not the subject of my research as they were permanent fixed markets (bazaar-like) located in larger cities spread along the coast (north-south), it was important to visit and understand the nature, structure, and dynamics of these markets when compared to these elements of the weekly markets found in the hinterland. My visits to these markets focused on personal observation of the markets, market structure, market architecture, market design, shop setting, vendors, people's interaction, and commodities sold. I did not carry out personal in-depth interviews. I did, however, have conversations with vendors and people coming to the market. I realized important geographic, social, political, and economic differences that distinguish the coastal markets from weekly markets located in the hinterland of South Lebanon (internal markets with no access to seaports). Examples of these differences include the bazaar architecture style and setup of the market; the link between the market space and the craftsman workshops associated with the different soaps, jewelry, artisanal work, pottery, and other goods; the proximity of the bazaar to the port; the integration of the bazaar with the khans set up for foreign traders; and the

distance between the bazaars and the khans from the actual residential spaces of the city (see Figure 3)

Following my visits to the coastal markets, I visited the smaller weekly markets located in the hinterland. Since there was no listing of how many weekly markets existed in Lebanon or South Lebanon in particular, where they are located, when they were established, to whom they cater, and what they look like, I started with the ones I learned about from family and friends. I started with Abbasieh Friday Market, located in my husband's village, and Bezourieh Wednesday Market, located in my mother's village, Marakeh Monday Market, next to Abbasieh (see Figure 4) and then moved from one market to another based on word of mouth from the municipal leaders, vendors, and people with whom I spoke.



Figure 5. Marakeh Monday Market, Marakeh, South Lebanon, July 12, 2010.

I wanted to learn more about the smaller weekly markets before moving to the bigger, older, and better-known markets (Souk Tanein in Nabatieh, Souk Kameis in Bint Jbeil, and Souk El Khan on Tuesdays in Hasbaya). During this journey, I also visited the weekly markets in Srifa, Shhour, Nsar, Saksakieh, Qana, Joya, and Taybeh located in the Governante of Nabatieh and Governante of South Lebanon.[15] Following these visits, I moved to the Monday Market in

[15] Until 1990, the Governate of Nabatieh and Governate of South Lebanon were one Governate referred to the Governate of South Lebanon. Due to electoral divisions, they were split into two governates.

Nabatieh, Thursday Market in Bint Jbeil, and Tuesday Market in Hasbaya (Souk El Khan), my initial case studies. These three markets are the oldest weekly markets located in the hinterland of South Lebanoon, Muhafaza of Nabatieh. They were established during the Mamluk Sultanate (1250-1517) and Ottoman Empire (1517-1922) and continue to exist to date. They are considered a reference point when speaking about weekly markets in South Lebanon.



Figure 6. Nabatieh Monday Market in the early 1980s, 1984. A. Mazrani (Photographer). From A. Mazrani's personal archive.

Snapshot of Lebanon

Lebanon is a small country of 10,452 square kilometers, bordered by Syria to the North and East, Israel and Occupied Palestinian Territories to the South, and the Mediterranean Sea to the West. Lebanon's capital and major city is Beirut (Lebanon in Figures, Central Administration for Statistics [CAS], 2008). Other major cities include Tripoli, Sidon, Tyre (Sour), Zahlé, and Baalback, each of which plays significant historical and cultural roles in Lebanon. Beirut, Tripoli, Sidon, and Tyre are also considered Lebanon's four official commercial ports. Lebanon has come to hold strategic geographical, economic, and cultural importance as the "hub of the East" (Credit Libanais Research Unit, 2009).

In 2009, Lebanon's population was estimated at 4.017 million[16] according to the CIA's World Factbook, excluding some 409,714 Palestinian refugees registered at the United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA), and an unidentified number of foreign workers from Syria, Egypt, Iraq, and other neighboring countries (Credit Libanais Research Unit, 2009). According to the Lebanon Crisis Response Plan (LCRP)[17] 2015-2016, approximately 5.9 million people currently live in Lebanon, an estimated 3.3 million of whom are people in need. This includes 1.9 million vulnerable Lebanese, 1.5 million Syrian refugees, and 315,000 Palestinian refugees (UNOCHA, LCRP 2015-2016).[18]

Lebanon is characterized by religious diversity, with around 18 officially recognized sects. Muslims (including Shia, Sunni, and Druze[19]) represent 59.7% of the Lebanese population, while Christians (including Maronites, Orthodox, and others) represent 39%, with Maronites, constituting around 25.2% of the population (Central Intelligence Agency, 2018; Wikipedia; United Nations Human Development (UNDP) Report, 2007; Credit Libanais Research Unit, 2009).

The Lebanese population is characterized by a high degree of mobility in and out of the country, with the urban population estimated at 87% due to the concentration of major economic

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[16] According to World Bank figures for 2017, Lebanese population is estimated at 6.08 million. This is based on the de facto definition of population, which counts all residents regardless of legal status or citizenship.

[17] The LCRP is a joint Government of Lebanon (GoL)–UN plan to ensure that the humanitarian response to the Syria crisis tangibly benefits Lebanon and helps to stabilize the country during this challenging period. Partners involved in the LCRP are Government of Lebanon, ABAAD, ACTED, ACF, ActionAid, ADRA, AMEL Lebanon, ANERA, ARMADILLA, AVSI, British Council, CARE, CCPA, CISP - Lebanon, CLMC Lebanon, CONCERN, COOPI, Digital Opportunity Trust, DCA, DRC, FAO, FPSC, GVC Lebanon, HI, Humedica, HWA, ILO, IMC Lebanon, International Alert, Intersos, IOCC, IOM, IR Lebanon, IRC, Leb Relief, MAG, Makassed, Makhzoumi, MAP, Medair Lebanon, Mercy Corps, Mercy USA, NRC, OXFAM, PCPM, PU-AMI, RET, RI, Safadi Foundation, Save the Children, SFCG, SI, SIF, Solidar Suisse, SOS Village, TdH - It, TdH - L, Toastmasters International, UNDP, UNESCO,UNFPA, UNHABITAT, UNHCR, UNICEF, UNIDO, UNOCHA, URDA, WCH, WHO, WRF, WVI, UNRWA, Seraphim Global, World Bank, and WFP.

[18] Lebanon's last national census was conducted in 1932. Due to religious and political balance, no other census was conducted since then. In 1970s, the Central Administration of Statistics (CAS) conducted a study on a sample of 130,000 individuals entitled *The Survey on the Active Population in Lebanon in 1970*. Most of the available statistics are estimates based on studies done by international agencies such UN, ILO, World Bank, EU carried out with CAS or independently. For example, after 2001, CAS collaborated with a number UN agencies and published a number of studies and surveys including: *Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey(MICS)* published in 2001; *Water Services Subscribers Census for Beirut and the Mount Lebanon Governorates* published in 2004, *Living Condition Survey and Household Budget Survey* conducted in 1997; the *Household Health Survey (PAPFAM)* carried in 2004; *Statistical Compendium on Environment* with the MEDSTAT II program in 2006, and others.

[19] The Druze faith is a monotheistic faith based on the teaching of Islam; nonetheless, the faith incorporates elements of other religious and philosophies, creating a distinct and secretive theology known to interpret esoterically religious scriptures, and to highlight the role of the mind and truthfulness. In Lebanon, the Druze community is estimated at 5.6% of the total population and resides predominantly in Mount Lebanon, Beirut, and Hasbaya in South Lebanon.

activity in Beirut, and an estimated 15 million Lebanese descendants spread all over the world. Lebanon's population is relatively young, with 25.8% of the population under the age of 14 (Credit Libanais Research Unit, 2009).

Lebanon is divided into eight Muhafazas (Governorates)[20] consisting of 26 Cazas (Sub-Districts),[21] each represented by a major city or town. The capital city is Beirut, with a population of approximately 1.7 million, and there are four other coastal cities, each representing a specific Caza: Tripoli (240,000), Byblos (85,000), Sidon (215,000), and Tyre (120,000). Additionally, Lebanon has few hinterland cities: notably Baalback (75,000), Zahle (50,000) (UNDP, 1997). There are approximately 800 cities, towns, and villages, and 238 municipal councils across Lebanon (IFES, 2011).

The Lebanese population is unevenly distributed among eight administrative Muhafazas. About 50% of the total population lives in the two Muhafazas of Beirut and Mount Lebanon; the remaining population is distributed among six other Muhafazas including North (21.6%), Beqaa (12.9%), South (9.1%), and Nabatieh (6.6%) (UNDP, 1997).

The Muhafaza of Nabatieh is located in South Lebanon (historically referred to as Jabal Amel).[22] It has a total area of 1,058 km^2 (408 sq. mi) and a total population of 276,285 (as per latest estimates). It is divided into four Cazas containing 119 municipalities (IDAL, 2018). They are divided as follows: (1) Caza Nabatieh, consisting of 38 municipalities; (2) Caza Bint Jbeil, consisting of 36 municipalities; (3) Caza Hasbaya, consisting of 26 municipalities; (4) Caza Marjeyoun, consisting of 19 municipalities.

Nabatieh is the main city in the Jabal Amel area and the chief center for both the Muhafaza and the Caza, both called Nabatieh. It hosts the Governorate administrative center and it is an important town, both economically and culturally. It has more than 30 administrative offices including national news agencies, directorate of state security, directorate for internal security, national registry office, center for urban planning, department of economy and trade,

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[20] Initially, Lebanon consisted of 6 Muhafazas, including Beirut, Mount Lebanon, North Lebanon, Beqaa, South Lebanon, and Nabatieh. With Law 522 of July 16, 2003, the number of Lebanese governorates increased from six to eight. Two governorates were created, Baalbek-Hermel (formerly part of the Beqaa) and Akkar Governorate (formerly part of North Lebanon).

[21] The cazas include Akkar, Baalback, Hermel, Beirut, Rachaya, West Beqaa, Zahle, Aley, Baabda, Chouf, Byblos, Keserwan, Metn, Bint Jbeil, Hasbaya, Marjayoun, Nabatieh, Batroun, Bcharreh, Koura, Minieh-Dinnieh, Tripoli, Zgharta, Jezzine, Sidon, and Tyre.

[22] Jabal Amel is the area that extended south of Mount Lebanon and North of Palestine during the Ottoman period. It was later separated by borders after 1943 and therefore referred to as South Lebanon in the Independence and Post-Independence period.

municipal land registry, Center for Social Affairs, and Governorate Financial Bureau, all of which are located in *Al Serail Al Hukoumi* [Grand Serail].[23] Nabatieh is also the center for the Union of Shkif Municipalities composed of seven different municipalities.

Bordering Nabatieh is Kfar Ruman, a town with a fertile valley known for the production of fresh fruits and vegetables. Traditionally, farmers in Kfar Ruman transport and sell their produce at the Monday Market in Nabatieh. To date there is a fresh fruit and vegetable corner in Souk Nabatieh that sells fresh produce from Kfar Ruman. Kfar Ruman was under occupation until 2000. During the Israeli occupation, up until 2000, the number of producers decreased due to the difficulty in moving in and out of the security zone.[24] After 2000, families from Kfar Ruman returned to their village and cultivated the land.

Bint Jbeil is the second largest town in the Governorate of Nabatieh in South Lebanon. It is the capital city for the Caza of Bint Jbeil within the Muhafaza of Nabatieh. It includes a total of 36 municipalities. The town has an estimated population of 30,000. The town of Bint Jbeil is smaller than the town of Nabatieh and includes a smaller number of government, administrative, and commercial offices and centers. Unlike Nabatieh, Bint Jbeil is not bordered by fertile land. The absence of water has made the town dependent on small craftsmanship, small industries, rain-fed crops, tobacco farming, and mostly remittance from expats living abroad.

Both the Cazas of Nabatieh and Bint Jbeil have been the sites of violent conflict during the past few decades. Nabatieh and Bint Jbeil were occupied by Israel in 1978 during *Operation Litani* and again from 1982 until 1986 and 2000, respectively. During this period, the region was severely depopulated. As much as 75% of the population was reported to have left for other parts of Lebanon (Beydoun, 1992).

The Muhafaza of Nabatieh is intensively used as agricultural land. Agricultural land is estimated at approximately 383,315 dunams, of which approximately 371,870 dunams are rain fed and only 10,500 dunams are irrigated. Key agricultural crops grown in the Muhafaza of Nabatieh, particularly in the area of Bint Jbeil, are rain-fed grain; pulses; and vegetables such as okra, wild cucumber, haricot, tobacco, olive trees, and greenhouse vegetables. Limited arable

[23] *Serail* is an Ottoman Turkish word for castle, place or government building which was considered the administrative center for the region. It was often the home of the Wali and/or Muhafiz.

[24] *Security zone* refers to an area in South Lebanon established by Israel in coordination with the self-proclaimed Free Lebanon state which executed a limited authority over portions of South Lebanon until 1984 and later with the South Lebanon Army until year 2000. Israel's stated purpose for the Security Belt was to create a space separating its northern border towns from terrorists residing in Lebanon.

land and absence of irrigation projects, technical agricultural assistance, and agricultural policies to support farmers combined with Israeli occupation and attacks since the 1970s have limited the Governorate's capacity to depend on agricultural production.

The average monthly household income in Lebanon is approximately Lebanese Lira (LL) 540,000[25] (360 US Dollars [USD]). This varies by Muhafaza, ranging from LL 2,069,000 (1,500 USD) in Beirut to LL 1,089,000 (800 USD) in Nabatieh. The lowest per capita income is recorded in Akkar, followed by Baalback-Hermal and Bint Jbeil (UNDP, 1997). The Caza of Bint Jbeil is considered to have the lowest level of needs satisfaction with (67.1%) of households living below the threshold of the index of basic needs satisfaction. Cazas characterized by poor living conditions share a number of features including high rates of poverty; high illiteracy rates, compared to the national average; low school enrollment ratios for children aged 6-12 years-elementary level; large average household size; and high dependency rate results (UNDP, 1997).

Weekly Market Evolution Across History

The research as well as the site field visits highlighted a key issue: the dynamic of the weekly market varied across historical periods and was influenced by historical, political, social, and economic factors that have contributed to their transformation.

Souk Tanein in Nabatieh and Souk Khameis in Bint Jbeil were formed on trade routes. The establishment of the market within a particular city, town, or village was associated with its geographic importance in terms of accessibility; availability of resources; favorable political environment in terms of leadership, government, and state policy vis-à-vis markets; positive economic incentives, such as taxes; turnover in commodities traded; social and cultural environment, in terms of community openness to strangers and hospitality; and security, in terms of peaceful and stable environment that would allow the easy mobility of people and traders.

During the Ottoman period (1516-1914), prosperity in Jabal Amel and the flourishing of the weekly markets (including Souk Nabatieh and Souk Bint Jbeil) in this region were linked and aligned with geopolitical shifts among the various powers as well as the political and military relations among the Ottoman Sultante, Wali of Acre, Wali of Sidon, Wali of Damascus,[26] local

[25] Each 1 US Dollar is the equivalent of 1,500 Lebanese Lira.

[26] *Wali* is an Arabic word for custodian or protector. During the Ottoman period, the ottoman empire was sub-divided into -provinces with set territorial boudaries referred to as *vilayet* (*wilaya* in Arabic). For each province, a governor also referred to as Wali was assigned.

potentates, and *multazims* [tax farmers].[27] Any strained relation between the Pope and a European state affected the political and trade relations between the European states and Ottoman Empire and consequently trade across the Levant area, both port cities and hinterland (Abdel Nour, 1987). Both Souk Tanein in Nabatieh and Souk Khameis in Bint Jbeil are located at a crossroads cushioned between Palestine and Syria. The routes to town linked Acre and Haifa to Damascus, Halab, and Houran. Caravans traveling between Palestine, Jabal Amel, and Syria, as well as pilgrims headed to the Hijaz, were bound to pass through these two towns. Political instability, conflict, and war in the region directly influenced the flow of commodities from, to, and through the Lebanese ports (Beirut, Sidon, Tyre, and Tripoli); affected the internal movement of pilgrimage and trade caravans between regions and cities in Palestine, Lebanon, Syria, and Iraq; and fueled demand by the sultanate to finance the war through increasing taxes on families and peasants by feudal lords and tax contractors. For example, during the Ottoman-Persian Wars between 1714 and 1736, the caravan routes coming from the Gulf and passing through Iraq, Hallab in Syria, and Iskandaroun in Turkey were blocked. This had a direct impact on the flow of Persian silk into the region and increase in demand and production of Lebanese silk, with a direct impact on the prosperity of port cities such as Sidon and Beirut (Abdel-Nour, 1987). Furthermore, the closure of the trading routes through the Gulf into Iskenderun and Hallab affected internal trading routes, as trade caravans had to travel through Southern Shi'i-dominated villages for security purposes.

During the French Mandate extending from 1914 to 1943, the weekly markets in South Lebanon continued to rely on the economic, social, and political interactions with Palestinian cities. Trade relations among Palestine, Damascus, and the Hijaz continued as before with the free flow of people, agricultural crops, cattle, and merchandise among Lebanese and Palestinian cities, towns, and villages (Traboulsi, 2007). The fall of the Ottoman Empire; fragmentation of the different *Wilayat* [city states];[28] resurfacing of different religious, ethnic, and national

[27] *Multazims* refers to the individuals contracted by the state to collect taxes and make paymments to the Sultante in fixed installments. The system of *iltizam* included the collection of taxes generated from farming of land, production of certain goods such as wine and the provision of certain services. This process began during the reign of Sultan Mehmed II (1444-1946; 1451-1481) and was officially abolished in 1856. It however continued until the early 20th century.

[28] *Wilayat* is the Arabic plural word for *Wilaya* (*Vilaya* in Turkish), as in city state (or province). During the Ottoman period, the different territories of today Lebanon today fell under the auspices of different provincial boundaries and control at different periods in history, including Wilayat Sidon, Wilayat Beirut, Wilayat Acra, and Wialat Damascus. (See footnote 26.)

identities; increase in demand for autonomy after centuries of Ottoman central control; and the overall shift toward an export- and service-led economy directly influenced the productivity and competitiveness of the weekly markets.

Agricultural production was encouraged, but mainly for export purposes—such as production of silk, cotton, sesame, tobacco, and olive oil—and mainly in favor of land owners, feudal lords, and large farmers with the capacity and resources to borrow and to repay. Lending mechanisms shifted from land owners and feudal lords to credit companies, therefore reinforcing credit monopoly by credit companies belonging to the aristocracy. This was accompanied by preferential tax treatment in favor of Mount Lebanon over the rest of Lebanon, leading to high taxes in the rural agricultural areas, particularly Jabal Amel, Baalback, and Akkar. This resulted in local and international migration from rural to urban, and from rural towns and villages abroad (Daher, 1983).

During this period, Beirut relished economic power over Mount Lebanon and the rest of Greater Lebanon (Traboulsi, 2007). Sidon lost its function in favor of Beirut as a transit port between east and west, connecting Syria to the Mediterranean—going through Beqaa, Mashgara, and Jezzine. The opening of the railroad system between Damascus and Beirut prohibited the deposit of products exceeding 500 LL (25 cents) in the Port of Sidon. Increased interest in Palestinian port cities has transformed Sidon from a world-renowned port to a small fishing port along the Mediterranean (IRFED, 1963). This set the pace for the dominance of the city over the village, the core over periphery, urban over rural. The rural areas continued to lack basic amenities needed for growth and development in terms of electricity, water, roads, schools, and irrigation (Daher, 1983). Towns and villages continued to rely on a traditional agricultural economy with very limited influence of the monetary system and the world capital economy on the rural towns and markets (Daher, 1983). Improved land size, division of property, agricultural lending, improved road systems, improved irrigation techniques, introduction of industrial crops (sesame and cotton), strengthening agro-industrial production (silk/tobacco), establishment of agricultural schools, introduction of technology, introduction of fertilizers, and introduction of rent labor did not take root in the periphery as they did in the core (Daher, 1983).

During the independence and state formation period extending from 1943 to 1974, the weekly markets in South Lebanon were impacted by the geo-political changes in the region as a

result of Sykes-Picot[29] and the United Nations (UN) recommendations for the adoption and implementation of the Partition Plan for Mandatory Palestine, a geographic entity under British administration, carved out of Ottoman Syria after World War I, with specified borders for the new Arab and Jewish state in 1947. For 400 years, Jabal Amel had strong relations with Palestine's hinterland. While export-led activities took place out of Sidon and Beirut, caravan and pilgrimage trade took place through internal routes stretching between Acre and Damascus. Traders would go to Bint Jbeil then move down to Lake Houla, Nablus, and Acre or they would move up from Jabal Al Sheik to Damascus. After 1943, trading routes between Palestinian, Lebanese and Syrian towns were cut off and borders between the three countries were closed.

The British Mandate for Palestine ended in 1948, resulting in the exodus and expulsion of more than 700,000 Palestinian Arabs from their villages and towns. As a result, more than 300,000 Palestinian refugees sought shelter in Lebanon. Palestinian capital estimated at 150 million Palestine pounds flowed into the country, followed by a large number of rich and middle-class Palestinians. Lebanese industries experienced a severe blow, as the value of Lebanon's exports to Palestine was greater than that of its exports to France, Great Britain, and the United States combined. Trade relations among Lebanese, Palestinian, and Syrian towns and cities, particularly in the hinterland, continued to flourish until the late 1940s. After that, the free flow of agricultural crops, cattle, and other merchandise between Lebanese cities and Palestinian cities halted (Traboulsi, 2007).

Up until 1948, all trade relations between Jabal Amel, Palestine, and Syria were carried out through Souk Nabatieh and Souk Bint Jbeil. Following the establishment of the state of Israel and the closure of borders in 1948, all political, social, cultural, and economic relations were cut off between Lebanese and Palestinian traders. The towns of Nabatieh and Bint Jbeil were left stranded between growing Beirut and Mount Lebanon on one side and the establishment of the state of Israel and commercial cities of Acre and Haifa on another. This period saw major transformation in the market in terms of commodities, volume, and currency. Until 1948, most traders traded used Palestinian dinars as opposed to Syrian pounds. After 1948,

[29] Sykes-Picot is an agreement that took place in 1916 between the United Kingdom and France supported by the Russian Empire. The agreement divided the Ottoman Arab provinces outside the Arabian Peninsula into mutually agreed spheres of power and control in Southwestern Asia. Sykes-Picot is seen as the basis for the division of the Middle East (Lebanon, Palestine, Jordan, Syria, Iraq, and Turkey) iinto its current national states and boundaries.

trade with Palestine was outlawed. Lebanese traders—including cattle, small ruminant, cotton, and other traders—continued to trade illegally into the 1950s, until they found alternative trade routes. This led to the imprisonment of many traders in South Lebanon by Lebanese authorities (N. Ajami, personal communication, July 8, 2010; A. Wehbeh, personal communication, April 17, 2011).

As described by Carolyn Gates (1998) in her book entitled *The Merchant Republic of Lebanon: Rise of an Open Economy*, the 1950s marked the rise of the "Merchant Republic of Lebanon," with its headquarters in Beirut and Mount Lebanon. It was modeled as the "Switzerland of the East" with a strong banking sector and outward-led service-based economy, and it was run by a "consortium of financial oligarchy" with roots in the feudal system and "Millet" system of the Ottoman periods (Gates, 1998; Traboulsi, 2007). All of these factors contributed to the rise of the service sector dominated by a merchant financial bourgeoisie with Beirut and Mount Lebanon as its beneficiaries (Traboulsi, 2007). Lebanon became a "pioneer in rejecting import substitution in favor of export-oriented industry" (Traboulsi, 2007, p. 120). The Lebanese domestic market came to be dominated by imported goods. The division between the core and periphery became more prominent with the growth and prosperity of Beirut and Mount Lebanon as both regions benefited from an outward-led service-based economy and the fall of the South, Beqaa and Akkar (the rural periphery) due to the absence of industries, decline of trade with Palestine, absence of infrastructure development, and lack of a strong administrative state system. Beirut was crowned as French city, modeled after the French capital with a *Place de l'Etoile*, a parliament and a new business district at its center. The rest of Lebanon went on a downward spiral, particularly following 1943 and the definition of Lebanon's northern and southern borders (Traboulsi, 2007).

The impact on Jabal Amel and its economy was decapitating. The creation of the State of Israel; influx of refugees; closure of the borders with Palestine; end of trade relations with Palestine; limited market outlet; and increase in refugees, unemployment, and migration resulted in economic strain on the population in the south, as well as the peripheralization of the towns and cities that depended on caravan and trade routes. Souk Bint Jbeil, Souk Nabatieh, and Souk El Khan retracted as trade relations decreased and many of the small crafts shops and small industries that depended on the Palestinian market started to decline and eventually disappeared. Products destined for the Palestinian market (such as tanneries in Machgara, pottery in Rashaya,

and shoe making in Bint Jbeil) practically collapsed. The inter-city trade of soap, oil, wheat, seeds, and crops ceased. This resulted in the internal migration of many families from South Lebanon and Beqaa to Beirut and eventually external migration overseas to the Gulf, Africa, and Latin America (Traboulsi, 2007; Daher, 1983). Traders with a history of going South to Palestine continued to do so during and after the French Mandate until the final borders started to be monitored on both sides. Traders from Jabel Amel continued to engage in smuggling and illegal cross-border activity. According to an interview with the former *mukhtar*[30] of Abbasieh, South Lebanon, cattle and small ruminant traders continued to move between Lebanon and Palestine until the early 50s, even after the closure of the borders. This resulted in the temporary closure of Abbasieh weekly Friday Market under the suspicion of smuggling and then its reopening by the resident families due to its economic return to the village (N. Ajami, personal communication, July 8, 2010; H. Jaafar, personal communication, July 8, 2010). Despite the political and economic changes, the markets continued to exist because of their social and political significance. The market was a sacred tradition for the residents of the communities. It linked them to their history, tradition, and culture. It was a manifestation of everything they stood for. They built their lives around these markets, and this was reflected in their family and household practices.

The period between 1975 and 1990 marked the beginning of the civil war, Israel occupation of Lebanon, end of the presence of the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) in Lebanon, and the end of the civil war in 1990. The dynamic and process within the weekly markets in South Lebanon, particularly Souk Nabatieh and Souk Bint Jbeil, reflected the social, economic, and political conditions of the communities under occupation. Up until 1984, the economic situation within the country was strong. This is attributed to increase in PLO deposits in the Lebanese Banks, increase in PLO spending, and continuous flow of war-based funding combined with economic assistance to assuage the ravages of war. In 1984, the country plunged into a series of economic crises in all its sectors, including agricultural, industry, and services. The "Switzerland of the East" model was seriously impaired and the economic situation within the country deteriorated. Public debt rose form LL 7 billion in 1981 to LL 35 billion in 1985, partially due to the decrease in state revenues and increase in military expenses. Bank deposits

[30] *Mukhtar* is the local head of the town or village. In Arabic it means the "chosen one" because they are are usually selected by some consensual or participatory method, often involving an election.

decreased from 12 billion in 1982 to 3 billion in 1990, mainly due to the withdrawal of PLO deposits in Lebanese banks combined with withdrawal of foreign capital and its investment outside the country. Mass destruction in terms of infrastructure, buildings, and services was incurred throughout the country, and predominantly in Beirut, as a result of the civil war, and in the South as a result of Israeli occupation. This was accompanied by an increase in cost of living and depreciation of income: vital minimum income for a working family was estimated at LL 3,000, while an average worker's salary did not exceed LL 952. During the same period, the economy became dollarized and the LL plunged, resulting in its devaluation, most of which is attributed to the speculation on the dollar. This was accompanied with a complete halt of the productive sector of the country, which was already virtually nonexistent, particularly as the country shifted into a service-led economy, with the banking sector becoming one of its main poles along with the seriously impaired tourism sector (Traboulsi, 2007).

In South Lebanon, the impact was more drastic. The Israeli occupation resulted in death, destruction, confiscation of land, draining of natural resources, unnecessary cutting of trees, clearing of houses, halting of agricultural and productive industries, and reduced mobility for people living in or coming from the South (Traboulsi, 2007). It was only possible to leave the South and attempt re-entry if one had obtained a permit from the Israeli headquarters at Kafr Falous. Permits did not prevent arrest at the Israeli Intelligence office at the Bater-Jezzine or Tyre-Naqoura crossing, or cut short the hours of waiting in long and difficult queues, or forestall the arbitrary closure of the crossing to suit the whims of the Israeli troops. Only the International Red Cross workers were able to take their cars across with impunity (Mowles, 1986). The Bater-Jezzine and Tyre-Naqoura crossing became a mean for imposing an economic blockade on the South, preventing the free movement of goods out of and into the occupied territory. It was a familiar sight when approaching the crossing from Beirut to come across over a mile of trucks, some of which had been waiting for days to gain access to the South. The prospect of such a wait was daunting for anyone wishing to transport perishable commodities. Nor could the trucks be driven across once they had been cleared; they had to be unloaded and the goods carried on to other vehicles waiting on the far side of the crossing. The occupation destroyed ordinary life. No one leaving for work in the morning could guarantee arriving on time, or even getting there at all, so arbitrary were roadblocks and arrests (Mowles, 1986). Furthermore, the Israelis arbitrarily and selectively imposed bans on certain types of goods reaching the South. The cost of certain

commodities soared in the South. The blockade cut both ways; while Israeli agricultural produce flooded markets in the South, local citrus rotted on the trees. Local growers could not afford to pick it when there was no guarantee of the produce ever reaching Beirut. Poorer Lebanese and Palestinians, dependent upon the citrus groves for agricultural wages, faced even greater hardship with the double challenge of unemployment and rising prices (Mowles, 1986).

There are very few reliable figures or even sources estimating the damage to the economic infrastructure and production in the South; however, a report from the Chamber of Commerce, Industry, and Agriculture (CCIA) in Sidon for 1983 (i.e., before the economic blockade really began) estimated that the industrial sector in the South witnessed a drop-off of 50% of sales compared to before the invasion. Coupled with this was an increase of 60% in the cost of raw materials. The CCIA Sidon report states that the agricultural exports for 1983 were 50% of those of 1981; the fall-off of this sector is reckoned to have hit the South hardest because up to 40% of the population of this region were said to gain their income from it (Mowles, 1986). The agriculture sector is said to have suffered from the exodus of young people from the South, occasioned by the Israeli occupation. An article in the *Financial Times* of February 19, 1985, quotes Hussein Khanan, ex-chairman of the Council for the South, as estimating citrus production down 85% since before the invasion. After the invasion, an International Monetary Fund (IMF) report indicated that that real output was expected to be about half of the corresponding level before the conflict began in 1975 (Mowles, 1986).

Economic facts and figures do not adequately convey the sense of isolation, desperation, and claustrophobia suffered by the population of South Lebanon. The environment of everyday life became one of fear and uncertainty: cost of living was high, unemployment was rife, and many of the families' male breadwinners were in Beirut or locked up in Ansar or Khyam[31] detention camps. During this period, even though social and economic life continued, the markets came under strict control with a shift in the products and commodities traded to reflect

[31] Ansar and Khyam are detention camps set up by the Israeli military (within the towns of Ansar and Khyam) following Israel's invasion of South Lebanon, retaining PLO members, freedom fighters, and Palestinian and Lebanese citizens captured by IDF Lebanon. In Ansar more than 12,000 people were detained between 1982 and 1983, with the youngest 12 and the oldest 85. The camp was shut down in 1983, and more than 5,000 detainees were moved to more secure facilities (Ta'mari, 1984). Khyam detention camp was a French army barracks complex originally built in the 1930s. It became a base for the Lebanese army before falling under control of the South Lebanon Army (SLA). In 1985 the base was converted into a detention camp that remained in use until Israel's withdrawal from Lebanon in May of 2000. After the withdrawal, the prison camp was preserved in the condition in which it was abandoned and converted into a museum by the Lebanese government. It was destroyed by Israeli warplanes in 2006 and rebuilt thereafter.

“occupation” policies. Agricultural and small crafts production was limited to household use and consumption. Israeli-manufactured commodities and products including clothes, shoes, beverages, food, candy, ice cream, and milk became prevalent, and trade in and out of the occupied areas was limited. The proximity of the region to Israel made it easier for the flow of the products northward than southward from the capital and Mount Lebanon to the South.

Trade relations between the occupied towns in South Lebanon and the rest of the towns of Lebanon relied on family relations within and outside the occupied towns and villages. Most families were divided. Part of the family continued to live within the occupied villages and the remaining part of the family lived outside. It was the family’s way of surviving and ensuring continuity and existence on their land. One brother would secure the commodities needed, and the other brother living inside an occupied town would ensure their marketability. The demand and supply of commodities relied on a good knowledge of the system inside and outside the occupied towns and the continuous flow of commodities under difficult circumstances. This form of trade continued until 1986 for Souk Nabatieh and 2000 for Souk of Bint Jbeil through 22 years of occupation.

In 1990, Lebanon embarked on a national plan for reconstruction and development. Even though the emphasis was on the reconstruction of Beirut, the plan had effects on the national level, influencing social end economic development. It also influenced the work of civil society organizations in rural Lebanon. After 1990, many projects emerged, headed by international and civil society organizations to revitalize and rehabilitate the markets; notable examples are the United Nations Development Program (UNDP)’s rehabilitation of the meat market in Nabatieh, and the World Vision and Mercy Corp.’s revitalization and reconstruction of permanent shops for Souk El Khan in Hasbaya. Other efforts also included promoting and encouraging the weekly markets in the different villages as a way of promoting cooperative development and income generation activities, examples of which are the weekly markets in Nsar, Saksakieh, Shhour and many other places.

In the capital, the old traditional markets in central Beirut, which were destroyed during the civil war, were transformed into elite coffee shops and stores located in the heart of today’s *Solider* [Downtown Beirut],[32] replacing what was traditionally known as *Aswak Beirut* [Beirut

[32] Solider is a Lebanese company for the development and reconstruction of Beirut Central District (s.a.l) that was incorporated as a Lebanese joint stock company on May 5, 1994.

Markets] for the sale of fish, vegetables, spices, gold, textiles, and other goods. During this period, Beirut as well as the rest of Lebanon witnessed the emergence of urban periodic or weekly markets including *Souk El Ahad* [Sunday Flea Market], located also between east and west Beirut, created of tin cover and wooden shacks filled with various stands selling antique jewelry, clothing and beads, electronic equipment, birds, fish, balloons, and even vegetables and fruits. It is considered the “bargain” shopping place. Today it has become a marketplace for foreign workers who visit the market on their day off every Sunday; Souk el Tayeb farmers market and Earth Market are North American- and European-inspired farmers markets focusing on selling organic and non-organic household produced goods, such as fruits, vegetables, pickles, jams, honey, bread, cookies, spices, cheese, and other processed goods brought to the city by farmers. These markets cater to 1% of Beirut’s educated middle upper class, tourists and expats. Both were created by research university professors and other academics from within American University of Beirut (AUB) community with support from United States Agency for International Development (USAID) and European Commission (EC).

The Israeli withdrawal from South Lebanon in the year 2000 marked a turning point for the weekly markets in South Lebanon.

The Israeli withdrawal from South Lebanon in the year 2000 marked a turning point for the weekly markets in South Lebanon. Two things are noted during this period. First, even though Souk Nabatieh and Souk Bint Jbeil expanded, their influence retracted due to the opening of the South to the rest of the cities and towns in Lebanon. People were ravenous for the free movement into and out of what was once the security zone. For the first time, people would simply drive through without having to go through hours and hours of check points, travel permits, and other hassles. Although Bint Jbeil Thursday Market continues to hold a particular interest for people, residents of Bint Jbeil are now free to go to Sidon, Tyre, and Beirut, or even Tripoli to buy what they need. The opening of roads was a contributing factor for changes in this market. Second, the number of village markets proliferated and mushroomed across South Lebanon, particularly in the region of Bint Jbeil. In every other village a weekly market was created. Instead of the towns and neighboring villages coming to Bint Jbeil on Thursdays, now they have their own weekly market to go to. For example, in the Caza of Bint Jbeil, around 9 weekly markets were established after 2000 that ranged between very small (less than 5 stands) to medium size (between 15 to 35 stands) markets. In Muhafaza of Nabatieh, around 13 new

markets started after 2000, with an average of 1 to 5 stands.[33] (See Figure 7; for more details, see Appendices A and B.)

The weekly markets across South Lebanon started to look the same, with little that distinguishes one from the others. The same traders simply move from one town to another with the same products and commodities. Occasionally, you will find a specialized vendor not commonly found in other markets. For example, in th e weekly market in Marakeh, there is a vendor selling fish. In Abbasieh Friday Market, there is a cobbler working out of a van. These

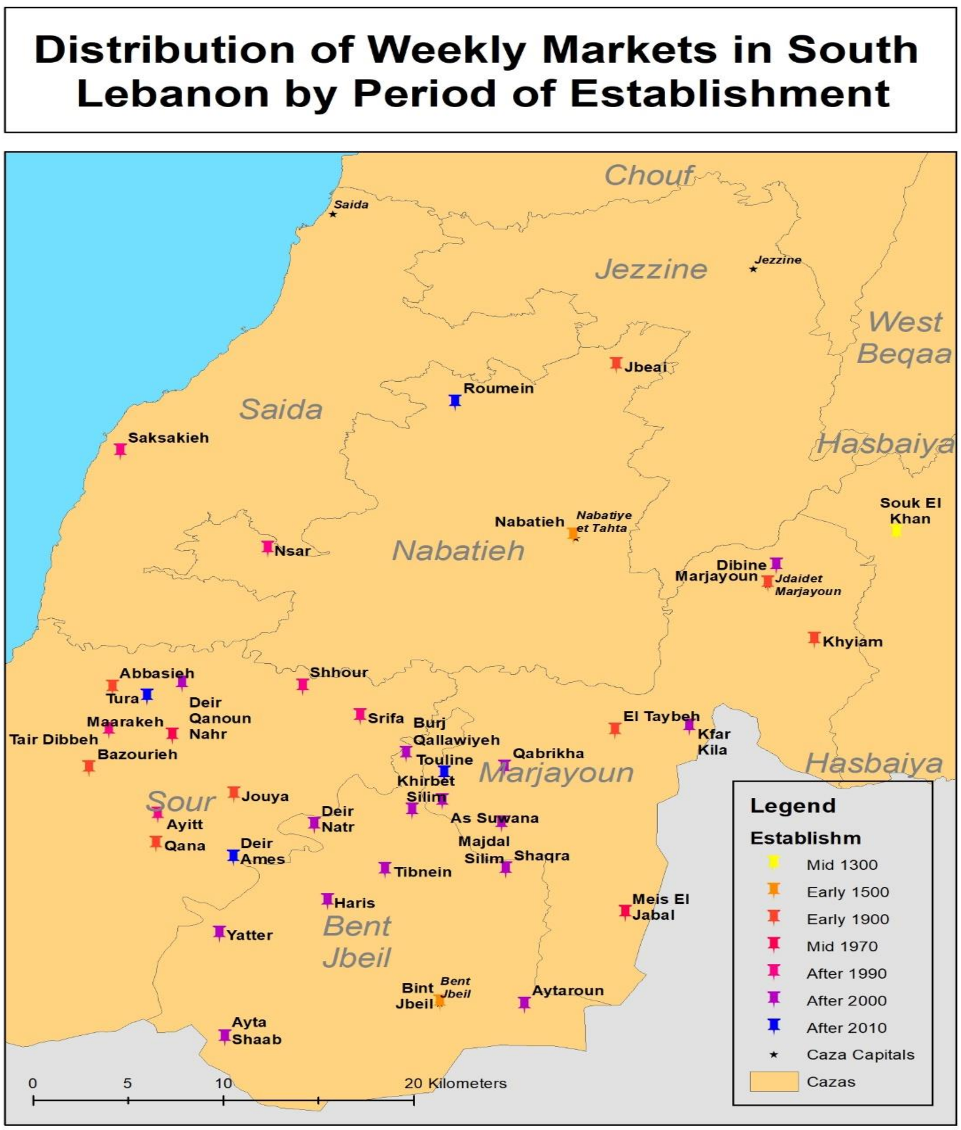


Figure 7. Distribution of weekly markets in South Lebanon by period of establishment, August 2018.

[33] The following data is based on an informal survey obtained from UNIFEL sources and then updated in August 2018 based on a phone survey the researcher conducted with the municipalities.

types of vendors are exceptions in the market. Many of the towns and villages in South Lebanon initiated markets under the impression that these markets can render economic return for the village. Over time, however, and with the rise of markets in every single village, the markets lost their economic benefit, as they started catering to the handful of traders and providing the community with some products at a cheaper price, therefore incurring some form of savings for the household. This is the extent of the economic return of the markets for the community.

The Israel war on Lebanon in 2006 had a drastic impact on Lebanon, particularly towns and villages in South Lebanon as well as the southern suburbs of the capital Beirut. According to the Food and Agriculture Organization of the UN (2006) Report *Damage and Early Recovery Needs Assessment of Agriculture, Fisheries and Forestry*, these areas have the highest poverty indicators in the country with half of the working population living from agriculture and constituting almost 70% of the total household income.



Figure 8. Traditional cobbler observed in Abbasieh and Bint Jbeil between 2010 and 2014. From Bintjbeil.org.

Over a period of 34 days extending from July 12 to August 15, 2006, Israeli warplanes launched some 7,000 bomb and missile strikes in Lebanon, which were supplemented by numerous artillery attacks and naval bombardment. According to an article written by Meron Rappaport, published in *Haaretz* on September 12, 2006, Israel Defense Forces (IDF) fired around 1,800 cluster bombs, containing over 1.2 million cluster bomblets. The war led to the

displacement of approximately 974,184 people (almost a quarter of the Lebanese population), the death of 1,187, and the injury of 4,398 (500 of the injured were permanently disabled). Structural damage included the complete to partial destruction of 30,000 homes, 900 factories and commercial buildings, 107 bridges, 680 km of road, and 27 fuel stations, as well as damage to hospitals, roads, schools, airport, ports, industrial establishments, water and sewage treatment plants, dams and electrical plants, energy distribution network, and military establishments (Food and Agriculture Organization, 2006). According to government estimates, Lebanon sustained about $3.6 billion in direct damages during the war. According to the Food and Agriculture Organization Report, the timing of the conflict decimated Lebanon's summer tourist season, which usually brings in USD 2.5 billion to the country. The losses of July 2006 were comparable to the losses sustained by Lebanon during the civil war of 1975-1990. The Ministry of Finance said at that time, that the cost of reconstruction exceeded the capacity of any middle-income country, especially one that has a large public debt, as does Lebanon.

Entire villages in the south of Lebanon were reduced to rubble. For example, the number of homes completely destroyed in Srifa was 340; in Siddiquine, 215; in Yatar, 180; in Zebqine, 160; in `Aita al-Sha`ab, more than 750; in Bint Jbeil, more than 800; and in Taibe, 140. The list throughout Southern Lebanon is extensive. The town and market in Nabatieh were partially destroyed. The town of Bint Jbeil, including the market, was completely destroyed. This resulted in the relocation of the permanent and weekly market from one place to another for more than 3 years as the Muncipality of Bint Jbeil embarked on a reconstruction plan for the town and market. The reconstruction project was financed by the government of Qatar. According to the Municipality of Bint Jbeil, the market was rebuilt to resemble the original market structure built in the early 1900s. The reconstruction of the town and market became a symbol of the resilience of the people and the community and their willingness to survive and thrive.



Figure 9. Town of Bint Jbeil, Souk Bint Jbeil after Israel War on Lebanon in 2006, August 14, 2006. W. Ladki (Photographer). From W. Ladki's personal archive.

In 2011, the civil unrest started in Syria, as part of a wider wave of the 2011 Arab Spring protest. It escalated into an armed conflict between the Syrian government Bath party and its allies, the alliance of Sunni Arab rebel groups (including the Free Syrian Army), the majority-Kurdish Syrian Democratic Forces, Salafii Jihadist groups (including al-Nusra Front), and the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant. The spillovers from the war in Syria have increased the country's vulnerabilities and acted as an impediment to recovery and growth. The presence of more than 1.5 million Syrian refugees, an added burden on Lebanese infrastructure, has further exacerbated the economic slowdown in Lebanon, with unemployment reaching a record high. The donor states have pledged billions of dollars to Lebanon to help the government cope with the huge influx of Syrian refugees. However, the government claimed that the financial assistance pledged to Lebanon had failed to reduce the negative effects of the presence of the Syrian refugees. The population has increasingly borne the consequences of failed governance with a marked deterioration in government services, such as electricity, water supply, and a visually powerful garbage crisis that has left piles of trash uncollected on the streets. This is exacerbated by domestic political paralysis, which has rendered the three main branches of

government between 2014-2016 either idle or ineffective (the Presidency, the Parliament, and the Cabinet). In 2017, Lebanon elected its president after almost 4 years of vacancy. On May 5, 2018, Lebanon held its first Parliamentary elections in 9 years. During this period, at the community and market level, there has been loss of jobs, limited access to capital, low credit, lower purchasing power, increase in the number of Syrian traders and vendors, increase in Syrian infiltration of goods and services within local community market due to closure of borders, and reduced spending by struggling Lebanese families. Again, the impact of the Syrian crises on South Lebanon and its weekly market reflects the overall situation in the country.

Lebanon's history has always been volatile, with marked shifts in power and leadership. Since Phoenician times, Lebanon has witnessed more than 9 dynasties and empires including Egyptian, Assyrian, Babylonian, Persian, Hellenistic, Roman, Sassanid, Arab, and Islamic. Under the Islamic, it was subject to many rulerships, including Rashidun, Ummayad, Abbasid, Fatamid, Mamluk, and Ottoman. In modern history, Lebanon was under the allied administration and colonized by the French until 1943. Since then, it has witnessed more than 10 civil crises and wars in less than a century. Lebanon, its communities, and its markets have shown high resilience in the last century—the nation has shown its ability to deal with and emerge from crises. The markets in Lebanon show signs of this resilience as they are rooted in communities that are strong on continuity.

Research Approach and Rationale

The purpose of the research was to examine the rural weekly markets in South Lebanon and what roles they played in the sociopolitical and economic development in Lebanon. It provides better understanding of the dynamic and relationship between market and society in South Lebanon. It helps determine why these weekly markets continue to exist and what factors contribute to their continuity over time.

The research questions are:

1. What are the economic, social, and political roles of markets in South Lebanon?
2. How are the interactions and interrelations between market and society played out? and
3. What is the best conceptual/theoretical understanding/framework that explains the continuing existence of these markets?

To answer these questions, five different aspects of the markets were examined: (a) the historical evolution and transformations that directly influenced the market; (b) the geographic and physical structure of the market; (c) the social structure, processes, and dynamics within the market; (d) the role of the state, power, leadership, and social and political movements in the market; and (e) the economic relations, money, credit, and transactions associated with the market.

The research used a case study approach to better understand the market, culture, and communities in South Lebanon. Historical, geographical, social, economic, and political issues were explored. Two examples of the Souk in South Lebanon were examined through two different case examples. The first case is Souk Tanein in Nabatieh and the second case is Souk Khameis in Bint Jbeil. These weekly markets are located in the Muhafaza of Nabatieh, Caza of Nabatieh and Caza of Bint Jbeil and the town cities of Nabatieh and Bint Jbeil. They are considered the largest and most prominent weekly markets in the hinterland of Lebanon.

The research entailed ethnographic field work with extended residence in Lebanon, particularly South Lebanon. This provided an opportunity to participate and observe the daily routine and behavior of the people residing in South Lebanon. The information presented in this case study provides descriptions of the markets, the communities, and the people as they describe themselves and as described by others in South Lebanon. The case study was built using data collected through field observations and in-depth interviews with vendors, visitors, and residents within and outside the Caza of Nabatieh and Bint Jbeil. Visits to the other weekly markets within and outside the Muhafaza of Nabatieh and Muhafaza of South Lebanon were also carried out in order to underline the importance of these two markets vis-à-vis the others and as expressed by the vendors and the communities at large.

There is limited literature written by local Lebanese scholars on these markets (except within excerpts of books about these towns). The research provides insight into two of the oldest weekly markets in Lebanon in terms of history and political, economic, social, and cultural relations, and draws on examples of other weekly markets spread throughout South Lebanon. It provides understanding of the context and dynamic of people and relations in these markets, therefore sharing information with scholars exploring weekly markets in South Lebanon, Lebanon in general, and the region at large and as described by the people themselves. It expands on the existing literature to look at markets that do not strictly fit into a specific model,

but those that are an amalgam of different explanations, definitions, and analyses. Furthermore, it contributes to literature the on market, marketplace, market economy, market system, sociology of market, anthropology of market, markets and institution, market and governance, market and power relations, market and social movements, and market and resistance. Specifically, it contributes to the literature on souks, bazaars, and khans within the Middle East and North Africa, drawing on differences and similarities among permanent, seasonal, and weekly periodic marketplaces. It adds to the literature on ethnographic studies in the Middle East, which is quite limited. This study, although based on participant observation, approaches the market community from a native perspective, using as the participant observer an actual native to South Lebanon with familiarity with language, cultural symbols, and cultural context. Finally, the results from this study look at rural markets not only from a farmer's perspective and not necessarily within the context of the merchant economies of the 18th and 19th centuries, but within the context of the existence of such markets within modern economic cycles in the 20th and 21st centuries.

Organization of the Chapters

The research is divided into six chapters. Chapter 1 introduces the study, including the market scene in Lebanon, background information, outline of the research, and justification for the research. Chapter 2 presents the literature review on markets by examining the classical, social, cultural, and political perspectives of the market. Chapter 3 presents the research methodology, including rationale for the use of a qualitative case study, research design, sampling process, data collection and analysis, research instruments and interview protocol, validity and reliability, and finally research limitations. Chapter 4 focuses on the research findings for two case examples: Souk Tanein in Nabatieh and Souk Khameis in Bint Jbeil. The case examples are ethnographic journeys of the market. The examples separately, and the case study in total, addresses different aspects of the market, including: (a) the evolution and transformation of the market across history in Lebanon; (b) the geography, space, structure, and dynamic of the weekly markets in South Lebanon; (c) the state, power, leadership, and social and political movements within these markets; (d) the social structure, role, relationships, and dynamics within these markets; and (e) the economic factors associated with markets, including money, credit, and transactions. Chapter 5 discusses this study's contribution to the theory based

on the two case studies presented. Chapter 6 provides conclusions about the educational journey, main findings, limitations, and follow-up for the future.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

The literature review on markets covers both the classical and non-classical approaches to looking at the market. The objective of this chapter is to explore and inform the readers of the different relevant theoretical threads on market and accordingly address the question "how best can we understand the market?"

The literature on the market is very rich and extremely diverse. We can approach it using classical economic theory or sociopolitical theory depending on the subject of study. Under each of these approaches, there is a wide spectrum of theories and analytical approaches to the market: financial, economic, socioeconomic, geo-economic, political economic, and other. All the literature reviewed is applicable to the study of the rural weekly markets in Lebanon, but in some ways, the subject of the weekly markets in Lebanon defies the literature currently available because each perspective has something to contribute to its understanding. The following chapter will look at the at the classical versus the sociopolitical perspective on market, particularly the marketplace. Emphasis will be on the sociopolitical approach to markets.

There are several ways of defining the market. It is synonymous with marketplace, market center, economic process, bazaar economy, market economy, world economy, world market economy, world capital economy, and market system. Its classification is based on the evolution in market structure and process from ancient Mesopotamia through the Phoenician civilization, the Roman civilization, medieval times, the Industrial Revolution, and to the modern world of the 21st century.

According to the *Webster* definition, the market is the assemblage or the meeting of people for the purpose of trade, i.e., the act of buying and selling of commodities and securities at price offered in a public place. According to *Wikipedia* the market is defined as a variety of institutions, procedures, social relations, and infrastructures whereby businesses sell their goods, services, and labor to other people in exchange for money. Markets vary in size, range, geographic scale, location, types, and goods and services traded. *Webster* and *Wikipedia* are not scientific sources used in research, but what is interesting about these definitions is that they reflect the discourse on market research.

Traditionally, markets were places of exchange located within traditional, folk-based, sacred communities that are geographically and historically bound by social relations and social

processes and influenced by cultural factors (Fogg, 1939; Tonnies, 1957; Redfield, 1960; Noble, 2000). This type of simple marketplace is associated with the ancient and medieval market setting found within the market town of Venice in the 13th century, Genoa in the 15th century, Antwerp in the 16th century, and Amsterdam in the 16th to 18th centuries (Braudel, 1979).

Two factors were critical in the transformation of the market into what is referred to as market economy, market system, or capital market economy: first, the Industrial Revolution; and second, the birth of the state system and consequently the expansion of urbanization and bureaucratization within society (Warren, 1972; Fligstein, 2001; Guillén, 2003; McMillan, 1996; Hann & Hart, 2009).

With the start of the Industrial Revolution, opening of markets, and transformation of cities such as London into industrial zones responsible for the manufacturing of raw material into processed goods and their resale on the world market, the world capital market was born. This led to the evolution of the market from simple to multiple markets; the development of network systems; the acceleration of technology; the utilization of the monetary system; the evolution of organizational development; and the shift from small-scale markets to larger, interconnected market spaces (Losch, 1938; Warren, 1972; Zelizer, 1988).

The literature on the market can be classified into two main approaches: one, the classical economic approach; two, the sociopolitical approach.

Classical Economic Perspective on Markets

The classical economic approach to marketsled by Adam Smith (1723-1790), David Ricardo (1772-1823), Jean-Baptiste Say (1776-1832), Thomas Robert Malthus (1766-1834) and John Stuart Mill (1806-1873), each with their own unique understanding of the market system and market economy, also referred to as the capitalist market economy. The classical approach gave rise the neoclassical, keynsian, liberalism and neoliberalism economic models[34] led by John

[34] When looking at the economy, the classical economic school emphasizes the production of goods and services as the key focus of economic analysis, while neoclassical economists focus on the individual behavior within the economy with emphasis on the exchange of goods and services as the basis of economic analysis. As such, it looks at the value buyers and suppliers are willing to place on the good as opposed to the cost required to create it. On the other hand, economic liberalism is an ideology that rest on the individual choices of people rather than collectives with strong support for a market economy and private property in the means of production. It is supportive of government regulations to a certain degree but opposed to government intervention when it comes to free trade and open market. Historically, economic liberalism arose in response to mercantilism and feudalism. Today, economic liberalism is also generally considered to be opposed to non-capitalist economic systems, such as socialism and planned economies. Neoliberalism is a resurgency of 19th-century ideas associated with laissez-faire economic liberalism, decreeing that competion is the only legitimate organizing principle of human activity.

Maynard Kenyes Keys (1883-1945), Fredrch Von Hayek (1899-1992), Milton Freidman (1912 to date).

The classical approach to markets (with its diversified economic perspectives) rests on two assumptions: first, there has to be competition; second, the market needs to be free of government intervention.

Under the first assumption, the classical approach assumes that competition obliges producers to provide the best product at the lowest possible price for the benefit of the consumer. The allocation of resources, capacities and skills determines the advantage of one group over another as reflected by the best price offered for commodities. The advantage of the market lies in using the strength of self-interest to offset the weakness of man's benevolence, so that everyone has the opportunity to have their wants served through material provision. It advocates the use of contractual agreement to ensure that the rights and responsibilities of parties involved in the exchange or transaction are protected (McNulty, 1970).

Under the second assumption, the classical approach assumes that the state and the market are distinct and the separation of the state from the market results in the most economic wealth. The market should be allowed to make major social and political decisions; the state should voluntarily reduce its role in the economy; trade unions should be curbed; and corporations should be given total freedom (Coase, 1976; McNulty, 1970; Noble, 2000; Viner, 1927).

The principles of the free market system—laissez-faire economy and pure competition with no government intervention except in the form property rights, taxes, and monetary regulations—define the main parameters of the classical approach. It looks at the market economy within the context of the industrial and manufacturing world. For classical economists, the market is an area of economic activity motivated by self-interest within a competitive environment that allows people to compete for land, labor, and capital to be sold and bought at fair market price without state intervention (Coase, 1976; Noble, 2000).

The whole classical approach is rooted in disembedding economy from society and separating politics from markets (Appleby, 1978; Lie, 1997). It neglects all social considerations, therefore disassociating class, race, ethnicity, gender, or any other social attribute from the theoretical range of economic approach (Ferber & Nelson, 1993; Folbre, 1994; Nelson, 1996). For socioeconomic and sociopolitical thinkers, the classical, neoclassical and liberal

economic approach to the study of market is ahistorical; ignores institutional setting and dismisses all other social, cultural and political factors associated with the understanding of markets, which makes the classical, neoclassical and liberal economic models utterly unrealistic and even utopian (Polanyi, 1944; Losch, 1938).

Sociopolitical Perspective on Markets

Contrary to the classical,[35] neoclassical, liberal and neoliberal economic approaches to markets, sociopolitical economists, anthropologists, and geographers such as Karl Marx, Émile Durkheim (1893), Max Weber (1890s), Ferdinand Tonnies (1887), Karl Polanyi (1944), Walter Christaller (1933), August Losch (1938), Talcott Parsons (1966), Max Weber (1970), Fernand Braudel (1975; 1979; 1982; 1992), and others saw market formation, existence, and continuity to be linked to social, political, historical, geographic, community, and cultural factors driven by institutional consideration that extends beyond the interplay of supply and demand at given market price (Polanyi, 1944; Lie, 1997; Zelizer, 1988).

Under this approach, the market is all about people, process, and relations. Its expansion into market economy and market systems is about the maximization of the factors of production to feed into individual interest. For some, the transformation and evolution of the market is rooted in the structure and characteristics of societies in which they have been embedded (Polanyi, 1944; Hann & Hart, 2009; Tandy, 1997; Mintz, 1959). They do not disentangle markets from power consideration, nor do they disassociate class, race, ethnicities, gender, or any other social attribute from economic consideration (Lie, 1997; Guillén, 2003).

Even though this approach provides a better framework for understanding the weekly markets in South Lebanon, going through the literature, it is very difficult to strictly fit the weekly markets in South Lebanon within one specific model or limit their analysis to a specific theoretical framework. As such, I will discuss some of the social, political, geographic and anthropological definitions and approaches I came across in my research to demonstrate how the weekly markets in Lebanon fit within this debate. I will start my review of the literature with sociopolitical thinkers such as Marx, Durkheim (1893), Weber (1970) and Tonnies (1957), and

[35] In this paper, the classical perspective on markets will be used to refer to the thought and work of Adam Smith, David Ricardo, and Jean Say Baptiste. Although John Stuart Mill falls within the classical perspective, his ideas are seen more from the sociopolitical perspective.

then move to others such as Polanyi (1944), Losch (1938), and Braudel (1975; 1979; 1982; 1992), whose discourse on markets is quite relevant to the cases in question.

Marx looked at the dehumanizing effect of the market exchange system, market expansion, and the role of capital within this process. His definition of the market took into consideration the impact of the Industrial Revolution on the means of production (labor, land, and capital) and its disastrous effect on society. He considered money to be indispensable to any complex economy; its commodification, however, makes it a dangerous end in the social order of things. He considered the power of private money (capital) to be too fragmented to organize urban societies formed as a result of the industrialization process. He was radically opposed to the state in any form (Hann & Hart, 2009).

Durkheim defined the market in the context of social relation and labor stratification. He drew a distinction between mechanical and organic social structures, with mechanical being more traditional; tribal; clan based; marked by collective consciousness and governed by beliefs, language, moral values and common sense. Organic, on the other hand, is associated with industrial societies and urban setting with collective consciousness in terms of individual identity, rights, work status, professionalism, and a position within society (Noble, 2000). For Durkheim, social structures are fixed. They are affected by social landscape and influenced by people and their actions within them, therefore providing the basis for social transformation (Noble, 2000). He sees the market as part of the existing fixed social structure that affects and is affected by people and their behavior within it. Changes in the market reflect changes in the collective consciousness of people. Durkheim's mechanical versus organic social structures paradigm provides a framework for the positioning of the weekly market in Lebanon. Furthermore, his views on the market are reflected in the evolution and change of Souk Nabatieh and Souk Bint Jbeil over the last century. The vendors; the type of commodities; the relationship between the market and the people; and the demographic nature of visitors—their habits, customs, beliefs, and rituals—reflect the collective consciousness of the people within the community today. For example, today the markets in Nabatieh and Bint Jbeil are predominantly flooded with commercial Chinese manufactured goods as opposed to fresh fruits and vegetables produced by local farmers and locally manufactured goods. The demographic composition of the consumer in the market reflects the social and economic status as well as the religious composition of the towns today.

Weber (1970), on the other hand, traced the impact of religious ideas, values, and attitudes on economic activities and the role of relationships within society (Lemert, 2004). He drew a distinction between capitalistic perspectives and the pursuit of profit. He didn't see anything wrong in pursuing profit, since enterprises must take advantage of opportunities for making profit—otherwise, they will face extinction. To offset the impact of profit, he believed in the morality and rationality of the individuals when pursuing profit (Weber, 1958). Weber's view on the market is closely tied to rational economic action, which requires deliberate planning to ensure economic ends. He saw economic action as rational when the "provision of needs is capable of being expressed in numerical, calculable terms" (Bratton & Denham, 2014). Weber's definition of the market was similar to Marx's, but he was pragmatic about the relationship between power and capital regardless of the existence of the state. He argued that the structure of every legal order state or non-state directly influences the distribution of power within society (Lemert, 2004). He recognized that the formal rationality of capitalist bureaucracy led to the deterioration of livelihood, but considered state intervention in the market a recipe for disaster (Hann & Hart, 2009). Weber's discussion might be inspired by the impact of the capitalist economy, but his discourse is also applicable to small-scale simple market formations observed in communities in developing countries such as Lebanon. The religious ideas, values, and attitudes of communities in which these markets are located affect the nature of economic activities within these markets.

In 1887, Tonnies in his book entitled *Gemeinschaft und Gesselschaft* proposed a social classification for communities by characterizing old and new societies along the lines of local institutions, human behavior, and human relations. Gemeinschaft is seen as the small house, village, or town in which the community exists, be it the community of family, clan, tribe or other. Relationships within these communities are often direct, personal, informal, and face-to-face, often ordained by norms and tradition. Gesselschaft is associated with the city—the metropolis—and is characterized by indirect, formal, distant, and impersonal relationships that rest on positive laws, contracts. Their rules are often hierarchical, and behaviors are enforced by fear or convention (Tonnies, 1957). Tonnies's classification ties to Durkheim's classification of organic versus mechanical societies and similarly provides the social structure for looking at the communities in which the weekly markets in South Lebanon are located. Tonnies's community approach provides a framework for looking at the role and importance of the market to the

community as a whole. The weekly markets of Nabatieh and Bint Jbeil are all about the communities in which these markets are found in terms of demographic characteristics, religious ideas, political ideology, social practices, historical associations, and social and political struggle.

Building on the work of Marx, Durkheim, Weber, and Tonnies, in 1944, Polanyi, in his book *The Great Transformation*, set the stage for clearly distinguishing between “market” and “market society.” He took Durkheim’s and Tonnies’s discussion a step further (Liebersohn, 1988), and divided the economic system into four categories: reciprocity, redistribution, exchange, and householding. The difference is determined by the change in the factors of production and economic and social construction associated with the transformation of societies as a result of the Industrial Revolution (Hann & Hart, 2009).

According to Polanyi (1944), the market, for centuries, was known as a meeting place for the purpose of barter or buying and selling, using some form of exchange. He argued that “although the institution of market was fairly common since the Stone Age, its role was no more than incidental to economic life” (Polanyi, 1944, p. 45). With the coming of the Industrial Revolution and commodification of land, labor, and capital, the institution of the market has become central to economic life. Traditionally, people based their economies in terms of production, distribution, consumption, and storage practices on reciprocity and redistribution across personal and communal relationships. As a result of the industrialization process, the formation of competitive markets, and shift in society from traditional to a more industrial market economy, the economic mentality of people changed and so did their social relations and social behavior within the market. With the transformation of nature, society, and humanity into commodities to be traded on the market in the form of land, money, and labor, we are no longer dealing with the factors of production, but rather we are creating fictitious commodities that cannot reflect the true productive capacities of people and consequently the economy. Therefore, over time, instead of the economy being embedded in social relations, social relations are embedded in the economy (Polanyi, 1944). He claimed, the “market is not autonomous,” but it is “subordinated to politics, religion and social relations” (Polanyi, 1944, p. xii). The market is embedded within society as economical transactions are rooted in non-economic matters; therefore, one cannot dissociate economic transaction from non-economic relations (Polanyi, 1944; Hann & Hart, 2009; Tandy, 1997).

Contrary to the classical, neoclassical, and even the Marxist perspective, Polanyi (1944) argued that the government plays an important role that should be expanded domestically and internationally. According to Polanyi, "even though the economy is supposed to be self-regulating, the state must play the ongoing role of adjusting the supply of money and credit to avoid the twin dangers of inflation and deflation" (Polanyi, 1944, p. xxxvi). Similarly, the state has to manage the shifting demand for employees "by providing relief in periods of unemployment, by educating and training future workers, and by seeking to influence migration flows" (Polanyi, 1944, xxxvi). For Polanyi, "real market societies need the state to play an active role in managing markets and that role requires political decision making; it cannot be reduced to some kind of technical or administrative function" (Polanyi, 1944, p. xxvi). Further, he notes that "When the state policies move in the direction of disembedding through placing greater reliance on market self-regulation, ordinary people are forced to bear higher costs" (Polanyi, 1944, p. xxxvi).

Additionally, Polanyi distinguished between local and long-distance trade and its impact on the formation of market economy and the regulation of land, labor, and money relations among people. For Polanyi, this type of trade escaped local regulate and all that could be done was exclude it as far as possible from the local market. The complete prohibition of retail sale by foreign merchants was designed to achieve this end. The more the volume of capitalist whole sale trade grew, the more strictly was its exclusion from the local markets enforced as far as imports were concerned. (Polanyi, 1944, p. 67).

He goes on to explain that the "increasing strict separation of local trade from export trade was the reaction of urban life to the threat of mobile capital to disintegrate the institutions of town" (Polanyi, 1944, p. 68). He argues that freeing of trade is by no means truly free because the scope of regulations was extended and became more and more controlled and regulated by social authority: "The economic system was submerged in general social relations; markets were merely an accessory feature of an institutional setting controlled and regulated more than ever by social authority" (Polanyi, 1944, p. 70). As long-distance trade increased the movement of commodities into small towns, the need grew to regulate this and to protect the local market to ensure its existence and survival. Consequently, freeing the market from one side resulted in a stronger protectionism from the other side, and even with this the so-called free

trade was often subject to regulations practiced perhaps not at the local level but agreed upon by larger trading empires (Polanyi, 1944, p. 68).

Polanyi (1944) went further to argue that market liberalism is a stark utopia that will lead to potential conflict, non-peace, and possibly violence because to sustain itself, it would force people to accept extended periods of market fluctuations and live on less than what they have or are willing to bear. This is affirmed by the Gold Crises and the Stock Market Crash in the 1930s when governments used gold as an asset against liquidity flow for international exchange and trade, assuming that this would lead to self-liquidating deficit, since gold would be there to bail the government out in case of currency failure. This, however, failed, resulting in unbearable economic cost on people, deflation of country standards, and unemployment. This, in turn, could easily transform itself into riots, disconnection, dissatisfaction, disagreement, and pushing political leaders to seek an escape from the chaos through internal or external alliances with adversaries as a solution out; thus, the birth of fascism as the case with Germany and Italy (Polanyi, 1944; Hann & Hart 2009). For Polanyi, expanding government control and role within the economy would not necessarily take an oppressive form, if people are free to choose what they want within a system where the "right to non-conformity is institutionally protected" (Polanyi, 1944, p. xx).

Hann and Hart (2009) agree that expanding government's role within the economy would not necessarily take on oppressive form, if the people are free to choose what they want within a system that protects the person's right not to conform. Market liberalism with its utopian vision of self-regulation cannot regulate itself by buying and selling everything without restriction, and material provisioning for everyone as originally envisioned by Adam Smith cannot be achieved (Hann & Hart, 2009). The success, failure and continuity of markets through history can be attributed to the effective strategies adopted by governments and legislators at the respective times (Hann & Hart, 2009).

Polanyi's comparative and historical approach to understanding markets provides a framework for understanding how the markets are not autonomous but embedded in social and political relations. His thoughts set the stage for looking at all the factors and forces that come into play when discussing the market.

Parsons saw the economy as subsystem of the social system at large, which is distinct from but interdependent with culture, personality, and behavioral action (Lemert, 2004). For Parsons, the social system is about the integration of actors within the system, while the cultural

system is about maintaining creative patterns of change. Consequently, when looking at markets, one cannot disassociate them from the various systems and subsystems; markets are, therefore, closely related to social status, gender roles, cultural practices, goal attainment, personality issues, adaptation, and behavioral action process (Lemert, 2004).

Polanyi's classification of the economy is also reiterated by Wallerstein (1974) in his book entitled *The Modern World System: Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World Economy in the Sixteenth Century*, where he talks about the classification of world empire, world system, and mini system. World Empires were redistributive in nature, emerging from the world economy of the Chinese, Egyptian, and Roman civilizations. They bred clusters of merchants who engaged mainly in long-distance economic exchanges. Despite the size and scope of these trade clusters, they played a minor role within the economy. Countries such as Great Britain or France do not fall under the world empire definition but are nation states within the framework of the world economy. World economy refers to capitalist market economy defined by the use of capital and mechanization of the production system so that groups within it pursue their economic interest within a single world market, while seeking to take advantage of the market for their benefit by exerting influence on states through the use of power. Within world economies there are multiple political sovereignties, and therefore no one can assume control of the entire economic system. The ministate, on the other hand, is an entity that includes a complete division of labor and a single cultural framework. The mini-state system used to exist within simple agricultural and hunter-gatherer societies and can no longer be found. Consequently, nation states such as Lebanon are not societies that have separate parallel histories but are part of the world play, playing different roles within a capitalist world economy. They have dramatically different internal socioeconomic profiles and distinctive politics, but their economies subscribe to the world capital economy.

Wallerstein (1974) goes further to talk about the concept of core, periphery, and semi-periphery within a world system. The different zones within the system are endowed with different resources accounting for the surplus following disproportionally to the core areas. The economic structure of each zone supports the dominant class, which frequently controls the market as well as states that operate in the interest of that class. While the core and periphery are built on the accidental edge of historical, ecological elements that give them the advantage to produce and

trade with bulk commodities that are necessary for everyday consumption, as the case with India, the semi-periphery is needed to ensure the political stability and economic operation of the core.

Wallerstein's discussion is very pertinent for understanding the socioeconomic and political history of Lebanon from the Ottoman period to after independence. His discourse on class relations is very applicable to the Lebanese context, particularly when looking at the modern economy of Lebanon after independence and the context of these markets from the Ottoman period to date. It also provides an understanding of how the rural markets in Lebanon fit within these different yet overlapping classifications. Even though the weekly markets fall within the householding or ministate system proposed by Polanyi and Wallerstein, they have elements of the other two systems within them.

In his book *The Mediterranean*, Braudel (1975) also distinguished between market exchange and market economy. Even though Braudel did not propose a specific classification as Polanyi and Wallerstein did, he wrote extensively on the different markets that emerged over history, trying to articulate the evolution and change of markets over time. Braudel refers to markets that emerged in four main cultures—Chinese, Indian, Japanese, and Islamic—drawing a distinction between the historic and geographic settings of markets as well as looking at credit, power, and trading networks within these markets.

The Chinese Market is regarded as "the most astonishing organization of elementary market" which is based on geographic and spatial calculations. These markets were created within a market town or a small city with a geometric grouping of six or ten villages, all at a distance permitting the peasant to go to the town and return in a single day. The Chinese market towns were considered as satellites for the cities, linking communities to distant trade routes and imported merchandise. The market towns and cities formed a single system organized around specific calendar dates to avoid any conflict from one market to the next and from one market town to another. The markets included mainly "Chinese artisans whose shops were portable and whose services were procured in the marketplace" (Braudel, 1979). The market was divided according to the town streets and squares, and close at hand were usurers, public scribes, secondhand shops, stalls of snack sellers, and tea and saki houses (Braudel, 1979).

On the other hand, the Indian markets were spread out and structured around village life. They were closely linked to the banyan trader. In the Indian markets, the banyan trader acted as an economic intermediary responsible for transforming in-kind payments into money to be paid

to the community lords. Every single village had its market. Its inception is due to the necessity of using the banyan trader as an intermediary to transform in-kind payments received within the village community into money to pay either the Great Mogul or the lords of his court.

The Japanese markets were known for being well organized and structured as an exchange network of merchants. Braudel compared these markets to the meetings of merchants at a given place such as Insulinde, an old merchant crossroads with regularly held fairs, to those of 15th and 16th century Europe (Braudel, 1975).

In the Islamic world, Muslim cities were connected through a whole network of credit and commercial organizations that linked Muslim cities with the Far East. These markets were organized on the outskirts of the city. These markets would spread out from the "massive city gates over terrain that was neither rural nor urban and where the city dweller on the one hand and the farmer on the other could meet on neutral ground" (Braudel, 1975, p. 30). According to Braudel, in the "Islamic world, just as in Europe, the cities gradually stripped the villages of their markets, swallowing them up" (Braudel, 1975, p. 30). In the past, the weekly markets in Lebanon could have conformed to Braudel's description of markets in Muslim cities. Today, however, there is little to be said about the connection between these markets and other regional or distant markets in terms of credit, power, and trading. Furthermore, Braudel's description of the markets in Muslim cities typically reflects major cities such a Damascus, Mecca, Istanbul, Jerusalem, or maybe even Akka, Sidon, or Tripoli located along the coast and whose sociopolitical and economic dynamic is quite different from that of the internal markets located in the hinterland (Abdel-Nour, 1987).

According to Braudel (1975) these "tiny dots" of simple marketplaces spread across the Mediterranean often involved a modest amount of merchandise and operated under "the imperfect exchange economy" that extended from 15th through the 19th century. They are elementary markets formed at the lower limit of the economy in which everything outside the market has only "use value" and anything that passes through the narrow gate into the marketplace acquires an "exchange value." Over time, many of these transitional or seasonal markets came to be replaced by shops, supermarkets and more urbanized centers for merchandising commodities. The market economy, on the other hand, is a system of exchange that involves the alignment of factors of production in an efficient and effective manner and often refers to the economy extending from 1800 onward.

Braudel (1975) argues that although these markets have existed for a long time, they have not succeeded in joining the total production and total consumption process because a large share of the production is absorbed by the self-sufficient family or village and did not enter the market circuit. He argues that the exchange form of the economy was imperfect while the market economy made constant progress, connecting market towns and cities adequately to permit the organization of production and control of consumption. The market economy was a driving force in the flow of innovation and progress. He argues that unless these tiny dots of markets are able to shift to a debit and credit system associated with shopkeepers and urban centers, then these markets are likely to disappear or transform. In this case these markets can no longer be explained in economic terms, but their existence and continuity rely on factors other than economic viability.

Braudel (1975) argued that as the economy shifted from an exchange market economy associated with peddlers and occasional sellers based on cash or other form of exchange, toward a more complex economic exchange based on debit and credit associated with shopkeepers, traditional markets began to disappear. He uses the example of Brazil and the sub-Saharan African market as a case example versus Venice and Genoa, whose current market activity has nothing to do with the old, commercial fairs of Rialto Square opposite Rialto Bridge and Fondaco dei Tedeschi which came to be replaced by the "Sensa" fair held in mid-August for the feast of the Assumption.

In Lebanon, however, these markets have not disappeared, nor have they come to be replaced by shops, supermarkets or more urbanized centers for merchandising commodities. Souk Nabatieh and Souk Bint Jbeil are market towns that served as marketplaces for the exchange of goods and services between farmers and traders from the 16th century onward. Even though the importance of these markets has gradually diminished, their prevalence continues to be an integral part of South Lebanon.

Contrary to Polanyi, Braudel was skeptical of state intervention. He argues that the capitalists have been typically monopolists as opposed to entrepreneurs operating in competitive markets. He believed that under capitalism, the state served as a guarantor of monopolists rather than as a protector of competition. He asserted that the capitalists had power and cunning on their side; therefore, they were successful in arraying themselves against the majority of the population.

Building on Polanyi's work on trade, Philip Curtin (1984) in his book *Cross-Cultural Trade in World History* linked the early market formation to the history of trade and exchange. He argued that trade and exchange have played a crucial role in human history and acted as two of the most important stimuli and sources of change and development in art, science, and technology (Curtin 1984). Evidence of trading communities can be traced back in time to the string of Phoenician and Greek trading towns along the Levant and Aegean coast, to the merchants from Cologne along the Rhine, North Sea and Baltic, forming what came to be known as "Hanseatic League of independent trading towns." (Curtin, 1984, p. 3).

At that time, traders would leave their homes, traveling by "Caravans" in search of distant lands where they would settle and learn the language, customs, and practices, or would continue to travel back and forth, acting as "cross cultural brokers, helping and encouraging trade between the host society and people of their own origin who moved along the trade routes" (Curtin, 1984). The result was "an interrelated net of commercial communities forming a trade network" that is formally or informally organized along specific routes (Curtin, 1984). The trade routes became recognized and the stops within specific cities and villages became fixed because of what is offered in the towns in terms of logistic facility, security, and profitability.

Curtin (1984) spoke of two distinctive forms of trade. The earlier form is that of cross-cultural trade that took place between different communities at the borders. A typical example is the case of Ancient Greece as depicted in Greek mythology by "Hermes the God of trade and the God of the boundary stones separating one city from another" (Curtin, 1984, p. 2). According to Curtin, "if similar institutions existed elsewhere in the ancient world, they disappeared with the earliest phases of urbanization." The second form of trade consisted of urban markets, which "tended to appear near the heart of the city, not on the outskirts, presumably because the traders wanted to have the best possible access to potential customers" (Curtin, 1984, p. 2). This form of trade continues to our day and can be found in cities and towns all over the world, including modern-day Lebanon. Another form of trade to which Curtin refers to is border trading, where trade took place on the borders between cities, towns, and communities. These boundary markets are associated with the Greek cities and they disappeared in the 8th century B.C. "If similar institutions existed elsewhere in the ancient world, they disappeared with the earliest phases of urbanization" (Curtin, 1984, p. 2). One example of these markets is Souk El Khan in South Lebanon. Unlike the urban markets, it does not convene in the heart of the town. It is

formed along the outskirts of the town of Hasbaya located between Sahel Khyam, Hasbaya, and Shibaa. Souk Bint Jbeil and Souk Al Nabatieh might have historically started as boundary markets and with time became more like urban markets.

In terms of state involvement, Curtin argues that the market was "closely controlled by the state and subordinated to state ends. The state established the terms of exchange, fixed prices and maintained them over long periods of time." Prices were not allowed to fluctuate with the influence of supply and demand (Curtin, 1984, p.13).

Moving through the literature, I looked at the theories of periodic markets to understand the relationship between geography and economy with respect to markets. Most of the work is derived from central place theory and focused on location, spacing, and hierarchical classification of markets. The pioneering work on periodic markets, Walter Fogg's study on the *Suq: The Human Geography of Morocco* and his subsequent writings on tribal markets in Morocco, dates back to 1932.

Fogg (1939) argues that markets are distinguished by their history and geographic setting. Markets trace their history to a specific time and event that shaped their formation, marked their recognition, and underlined the type of commodities and services traded in the market. The location of the market, the geographic and spatial elements of the market, the significance of the town or village to the region, and the role of the town in relation to its surroundings all influence the market dynamics. One of the interesting aspects of Fogg's work is his discussion of the legal and administrative role of markets during the colonial period. He articulates how the weekly market in the countryside is more than a place and means for the exchange of goods and services with reference to the local and administrative work carried out and the social interaction between people within the market. The market was considered the center of life for the native community. It presented a good source of revenue in terms of taxes, provided a strong position for exercising military control over the land, and played an important spatial role in the market process. All of these functions made the market central to the life of the local population and a strategic point of control for occupiers. During the colonial period, the function of the tribal markets as legal and administrative centers was strengthened. The role the market played in the lives of people, the revenue collected from taxes, and the strategic position it occupied made the markets significant as "control centers to European Protectors" at that time (Fogg, 1939). Many of these markets became "important military centers with large barracks along-side the market."

The structures around the marketplace were transformed into “local headquarters of the administrative function of the Spanish Interventor (District Commissioner) and of the Spanish district medical service” (Fogg, 1939, p. 324). All demonstrate the importance of geographic location and spacing of the market as a center of life for locals and point of control for occupiers (Fogg, 1939).

Marvin W. Mikesell (1958) in his description of the role of tribal markets in Morocco discusses the four main functions: (a) distribution of local products, (b) exchange of rural surplus for urban goods, (c) circulation of articles such as pottery and millstones from special places within the country, and (d) dissemination of foreign imports. The larger regional markets differ from the smaller local markets in a greater emphasis on the last two functions. Mikesell underlines how the *suq* is much more than a market in the economic sense; it also plays an important social and political role in the tribal life of people. Mikesell’s work falls within some of the unique and rare ethnographic studies on markets, a field that emerged in the 1970s and 1980s.

This perspective is further supported by Suraiya Faroqhi’s (2006) discussion of the history associated with the Ottoman leadership and development of markets. In her book published in 2006, *The Ottoman Empire and the World Around It*, she underlines how traders were protected and their routes were secured. Merchants, especially foreign ones, such as Venetian, Armenian, Polish, and others, enjoyed special privileges. The Ottoman basis in Istanbul along with the local governates and municipal councils played a critical role in regulating these markets. “The Ottoman administration regulated trade” out of “concern to preserve the existing social order and discourage competition with the courtly, military and administrative elites” (Faroqhi, 2006, p. 159). This was particularly true for foodstuffs and raw material as well as specific metals like copper, silver and gold. As long as the trading was conducted in the service of the sultan, merchants conducted their trade without hindrance. What was important was how much the Ottoman state would gain in state revenues due to trade (Faroqhi, 2006, p. 159). This discussion falls in line with Polanyi’s discussion of market “embeddedness” and the role of the state in regulation as opposed to the predominant concept of self-regulation. It also fits with the discourse of the Wallerstein’s, Braudel’s, and Fogg’s discussions of trade within the context of the colonial period.

The impact of the Ottoman leadership and geo-state structure is still in place almost 100 years after the collapse of this system and almost 70 years following independence from the

French. I will not go into the political study of these systems, but I would like to draw attention to the role of municipal governance and political leadership in the advancement, stagnation, or retraction of markets in South Lebanon.

In an attempt to further understand central place theory and location theory and its application to the market in question, I also looked at the work of Walter Christaller (1933), August Losch (1938), and G. William Skinner (1964; 1965), who have supported the importance of history and geographic setting in market studies (Lie, 1997).

Christaller, in his doctoral dissertation published in 1933, entitled *Central Places in Southern Germany*, emphasized that cities and towns are driven by their location and the size of territory they serve. By looking at the geographic distribution of German villages around central spaces, Christaller analyzed the schemes of linking rural villages with industrial centers and the economic benefit resulting from central-based distribution. Christaller's work was built on understanding the geographic distribution of cities and towns using economic theory and economic methods. Christaller stressed the key role played by demand and supply, costs and prices, consumption and income, as well as other economic concepts and relationships. He emphasized that for the development of towns to occur, "a demand must exist for the things which the town can offer" with the consequence that "economic factors are decisive for the existence of towns" (Christaller, 1933, p. 3). He also believed that "there is a definite connection between the consumption of central goods and the development of central places" (Christaller 1933, p. 27) and states that "consumption is itself dependent on demand, supply, income and prices." He concludes that "when we have determined the amount of consumption and the location of the offering of central goods, the question of sizes, locations and number of central places can, at least generally, be answered" (Christaller, 1933, p. 27) According to Christaller the geography of settlements must draw upon economic theory in order to explain the character of towns. Furthermore, he reiterated that "theoretical economics concerns itself far too little with the spatial relations and the influence of space" (Christaller, 1933; p. 5). He emphasized that "each economic relationship and each economic space event are without exception related to space" (Beguin, 1992). Christaller's emphasis on how the typography of settlements must draw upon economic theory in order to explain the characteristics of towns, his emphasis on the impact of spatial relations, and his insistence on the influence of space on economic relations

provides a basis for looking at the importance of geography in the establishment and persistence of the weekly markets from the Ottoman period to date.

Losch (1938) in his article "The Nature of Economic Regions" discusses the links between economic activity and geographic spacing. He distinguishes among three types of economic areas, referring to them as simple market areas, nets of such areas (belts), and system of belts (regions). In this classification, simple market areas are considered the simplest, most real, and most dependent on trade, while the system of nets or regions is the most complex and self-sufficient, but more difficult find in reality (Losch, 1938). Losch's classification is not that far from Polanyi's, with respect to geographic spatial implications.

Skinner (1964, 1965), in his work on Chinese trading networks, describes and analyzes the marketing system in transitional rural China as well as explores ways in which commodity distribution on the communist mainland is related to previous patterns of peasant marketing and the extent to which rural collectivization has been geared to the natural system of earlier times found within standard marketing communities. Skinner's (1964) definitions of central place, maximum dependent territory, and the typology of market hierarchies closely resemble the Muhafaza and Caza formation and consequently the division of market sizes and their dependent territories found in Lebanon.

What is important about Christaller, Losch, and Skinner, with respect to the present study, is their work on markets and geographic clustering, their study of the relationship between economics and geographic regions, and their exploration of the relationship between the center and the region. In South Lebanon, both Souk Nabatieh and Souk Bint Jbeil are located in the capital town of the Caza of Nabatieh and Caza of Bint Jbeil respectively. They are considered the economic center of the Caza itself. For example, if we take the Governorate of Nabatieh, it is composed of four different Cazas, each with a central town and a municipal council catering to a number of villages surrounding it. Even though the various villages within these Cazas have their own local weekly markets, Souk Nabatieh is often considered the focal economic center of the whole Caza, serving economically and administratively between 26 and 36 villages. The same can be said about the role of Sidon and its market in the Governorate of South Lebanon, the role of Tripoli and its market in the Governorate of North Lebanon, and the role of Zahle and its market in the Governorate of Beqaa. According to Losch (1938) these economic centers also serve as cultural and political centers for the region.

Furthermore, in the literature on periodic markets, R. J. Bromley and Richard Symanski (1974) classify individual markets and market centers in terms of frequency, occurrence, or periodicity. Daily markets occur on all days of the week including Saturday and Sunday. Periodic markets occur from one time to three times each week; few of the markets looked at meet at less frequent intervals, such as once every two weeks or once a month. Whether markets remain fixed or move is a function of the relationship between the maximum range of goods and the minimum threshold demand (i.e., maximum range is how far the population willing to travel to buy a good offered at a specific location; the minimum threshold of a demand is the minimum amount of consumption needed to pay for the production or offering of a particular good.

If the maximum range is larger than or equal to the minimum threshold, then the market remains in a fixed location. On the other hand, if the maximum range is smaller than the minimum threshold, the traders are forced to travel to reach their customers (Bromley, 1971; Ekong, 2004; Hay, 1971; Hodder, 1961; Mckim, 1972; Scott, 1972; Tinkler, 1973). Supporting Fogg's (1939) and Souraya Farouqi's (2006) discussion on the state, government, local authority, or legal order involvement in the market, Bromley (1971) argues that periodic markets are hardly spontaneous, uncontrolled trade gatherings that correspond to "perfect market" that is atomistic, open, free, and rational. They are organized and regulated by local authorities who decide where and when markets are to be held. He argues that market authorities are subject to orders from higher regional, colonial, or national authorities, and pressures from producers, traders, consumers, local residents, and other interest groups.

Reviewing the literature on marketplace economies, I also examined the work of Mintz (1959), as well as Bohannon and Dalton's (1962), discussion of periodic markets in Africa, the Caribbean, and the Philippines. Mintz (1959) defined "internal market systems as a mechanism for social articulation." He drew a distinction between marketplace and export market and the nature of economic relations, traders, and peasants involved within these systems. According to Mintz, marketplaces are distributive in nature; as such, people involved in the marketplace are commonly part-time marketeers who produce for consumption as well as for sale. Most importantly, they aim at maintaining a "cultural standardized level of life, rather than at continuously expanded production" (Mintz, 1959, p. 20). Mintz argues that although the majority are peasant producers selling their own produce, marketplaces also have a substantial number of persons who are professional sellers. Therefore, people in the marketplace are

influenced by values and are often less capitalistic in their pursuits than those involved in the export sector. Nonetheless, the presence of professional middlemen who depend on marketing for a living brings into the distributional system a receptivity toward profit and efficiency, which encourages innovation. Finally, Mintz suggests, marketplaces may be also be employed as organs of national policy under the control of public officials or influential elites. Therefore, whether the market tends to level class distinctions or to intensify them depends on the degree and kind of external controls on it.

According to Bohannon and Dalton (1962), societies are classified based on the role which marketplace institutions play in their economies. The economy is embedded in the network of social relations and exchange. A successful market was considered essential to prosperity, and its operation was not to be interfered with unless necessary. Bohannon and Dalton have attempted a classification of African economies based on different market relationships. The economic typology for classification of economies is: market-less, peripheral market, and market categories. In the peripheral market economies, the participants do not depend upon the market as the major source of their income and are primarily subsistence cultivators. The market is "peripheral" to the main business at hand, which is subsistence cultivation. In these situations the economy is organized in terms of reciprocity and redistribution (Bohannon & Dalton, 1962, p. 10) Although the forces of supply and demand operate on the price formation process, in peripheral markets, prices are also strongly influenced by such economically irrational factors as kinship; religion; traditional norms concerning the justness of prices, such as Tawney (1926) describes for medieval Europe; or "simply the eagerness of market women not to sell out quickly because the market is a place of entertainment and social intercourse" (Bohannon & Dalton, 1962, p. 11). Peripheral market prices fluctuate based on supply and demand and as determined by the particularities of the local institutions. The participants in the market economy depend on the market sales as their major source of income. In the market economy everyone is committed to the market on a fulltime basis and prices are directly determined by supply and demand. In the fully developed market, prices influence production decisions to reallocate resources to alternative uses consistent with the desire to maximize profit. Although both types of market allocate consumer goods, only the fully developed market also allocates the factors of production. For Dalton, the peasant

economies are fully modern in organization, but are embedded in traditional social settings (Davis, 1973).

In terms of the cultural theory, Viviana Zelizer (1978, 1988) argues that the market is an institutional type of social relation that involves consumption, production, and exchange under a variety of cultural settings. Its essence lies in the rational calculation of costs and benefits and the regulation of exchange using price mechanism. Zelizer presents a critique of the economic market model, proposing a classification based on boundless market, subordinate market, and multiple market. She argues that the multiple market model represents the most useful alternative to the neoclassical paradigm since it involves the interaction of cultural, structural, and economic factors (Zelizer, 1988).

David Tandy (1997) in his book entitled *Warriors into Traders: The Power of Market in Early Greece* discusses the institution of market and market structure in Ancient times, using Greek mythology as a means of illustration. Particularly, he uses the writing of Homer and Hesiod in looking at the relationship among market, social conditions and power depicted through his analysis of war heroes and their relationship with the market as an expression of social unrest at that time. Tandy goes on to depict Hesiod's rejection of reality and how his response was to fight back by producing his agrarian goods and taking them to the market. In this case, the market became a reflection of poor functioning of the polis, the fight and resistance for change, and the embodiment of social relations.

Tandy's definition of the market, although theoretical, is rooted in the relationship among social structures, society, and the institution of trade. The market was a place of contention in which traders, peasants, and others expressed their concerns within the social system by taking their household products out to the marketplace, therefore turning from warriors into traders. The market is seen as a place in which these actions are played out, and in fact these actions could be themselves acts of dissent against the general political framework as played out by warriors in Tandy's description of Greek mythical warriors taking their products to the market. The market and what happens in the market is an aggregation of acts of resistance with dramatic economic and political effects on the community and the region as a whole. This is typically reflected in the weekly market of Bint Jbeil as well as the overall politics of the weekly markets in South Lebanon. In spite of all the things that happened in the past—division of states, closure of borders, occupation, and war—their existence today cannot be disconnected from this history.

The market is in the collective memory of people. It is also reflected in the small acts of resistance found in the literature when discussing the market and marketplaces. According to the Sheik Ali Salim, Al Mayadein area in Bint Jbeil, where the market used to re-convene in the early 20th century, constituted a stage front for the fight beteeen the residents and the French Army in 1920 (Badawi, 2011; Salim, 2005).

Ethnographic Perspective of Markets

The ethnographic literature is quite diverse. Most of it is found within anthropology and focuses on the study of communities, societies, or cultures through detailed description of their everyday life. In the context of markets, particularly weekly and periodic markets, very few sources were found that use ethnography in their description. The most notable of these ethnographic sources are the work Bronislaw Malinowski (1884-1942) on Trobriand Islanders, the work of Clifford Geertz (1926-2006) on Southeast Asia, the work of Sidney Mintz (1922-2015) on the sugar and commodity trade in Caribbean and Southeast Asia. The work Mikesell and Fogg on tribal markets in Morocco, and the work of Bromley and Symanski on marketplace trade in Latin America. Other studies include "Periodic Markets in Southern Ethiopia" by R. T. Jackson (July 1971), "Periodic Markets in Pre-columbian Mexico" by Ross Hassig (April 1982), "Periodic Markets and Traveling Traders in Uganda" by Charles Good (January 1975), "Rural Development in Korea: The Role of Periodic Markets" by Siyoung Park (April 1981), "Rural Weekly Markets and the Dynamics of Time, Space and Community in Senegal" by Donna Perry (September 2000), and others. Most of the work is published in historical, geographical, economic geographical journals, or regionally specialized journals, such as journals of African or Asian studies.

Most of the literature found dates back to the early or mid 20th century, and most is inspired by the colonial period. Very few studies were found on weekly periodic markets after the 1980s, and almost none that are based on ethnography.

Although Lebanon has a long history of markets, the study of rural markets has been neglected, particularly when it comes to rural weekly or periodic markets. Most of the literature found on Lebanon focuses on the political, economic, and social situation of Lebanon at a given time in history, with few studies and books by local authors that document the archeological, geographical, social, cultural, and economic situation within cities and towns in the South. Examples of these works include the *Bint Jbeil Witness of Jabal Amel: Political, Social,*

Economic and Cultural Development by Mustapha Bazzi (1998), *Bint Jbeil: Memory and History* by Ali Bazzi (2007); *Bint Jbeil: Architectural Heritage* by Hassan Ramez Badawi (2011), *Nabatieh in the Memory: Picture and Documents (1860-1999)* by Ali Hussein Mazraani (1999), and *Nabatieh: Within the Local, Ameli and Regional Spheres* by Abbas Hassan Wehbeh (2012). A few other historical studies were written on the history of Jabal Amel by Mohamad Jaber Al Safa (1959), Masoud Daher (1983), and Mouhsen al Amin (1983). The only scholarly research found on markets was a study by Antoine Abdel-Nour (1987) entitled *Le Commerce de Sidon Avec L'Occident-du Milieu du XVII Siecle jusqu'à la Fin du XVIII Siecle*. With the exeption of the work of Antoine Abdel Nour, very few paragraphs or pages are dedicated to the weekly markets of Nabatieh and Bint Jbeil and almost none to the other weekly markets spread throughout South Lebanon. Most of what was found is simply descriptive in nature, with historical accounts of the towns and cities where they are found. There are no other sociological, geographical, or economic studies found on rural weekly markets across Lebanon, including Souk Nabatieh and Souk Bint Jbeil. Even when it comes to audio visual material, it was impossible to find substantive material on rural weekly markets across Lebanon in personal or national archives, including national and private TV stations. Few short reports were collected from Al Manar TV, TV Liban, and MTV on Souk Nabatieh and Souk Bint Jbeil. Also, a few reports were collected from YouTube including one done by *No Garlic No Onion* on street foods in rural communities in Lebanon, one of which touched on street food in Souk Nabatieh and Hasbaya. Literature on these markets is so scarce that it is as though these markets do not exist except in the mind and life of the communities in which they are found.

Ethnographic work in Lebanon or the Middle East is an emerging field. The only source of work I found was in the *Contemporary Levant* publication, with few studies published by Arab women researchers including: *A Tangled Web of Lies: Reflections on Ethnographic Fieldwork with Syrian Turkmen Women on the Side of a Road in Beirut* by Elizabeth Saleh (2017), *Being, Doing and Knowing in the Field: Reflections on Ethnographic Practice in the Arab Region* by Samar Kanafani and Zina Sawaf (2017), *Commentary on Ethnography as Knowledge in the Arab Region* by Lila Abu-Lughod (2017), and few others. There are very few anthropological studies with an ethnographic approach done on specific communities or industries, such as the work of Sima Aprahamian in her doctoral research on the Armenian community in Haouch Moussa in Beqaa entitled *The Inhabitants of Haouch Moussa: From*

Stratified Society through Classlessness to the Re-appearance of Social Classes, published in 1989; and Elizabeth Saleh in her doctoral research, published in 2015, where she examined the entrepreneurial strategies of members of the wind industry as they converged in the Kefraya region of the West Beqaa. Few historical studies were found on certain towns or market towns in Lebanon, such as the work of Alixa Naff in her PhD work on Zahle entitled the *A Social History of Zahle, A Principal Market Town in the Nineteenth Century*, published in 1972.

Markets in Between

The literature on market is quite divided. We could go on debating the classical perspective versus the sociopolitical perspective and the variations within it. It is clear, however, that the classical approach to the study of the market maintains that the workings of the market are purely determined by the interaction of supply and demand at given market price rooted in free market enterprise, laissez-faire economy, and pure competition with no government intervention except in issues such as property rights, taxes, and monetary regulations. Under the classical approach, there is the assumed belief that laissez-faire, competition, and no government intervention will eventually lead to material provision for everyone and consequently improve people's lives as prices of commodities are driven down and goods become available for everyone at a lower price. This line of thinking is concerned with markets in industrial modern urban societies with an elaborate production system and existence of law and social contract to protect man against the greed of other men within society. It considers institutional arrangements from a corporate perspective and assumes a direct link between market expansion, democracy, and freedom of choice. Most importantly, it disembeds economy from society, separates politics from the market, and dismisses the analysis of social relations and social process when talking about market and economic theory (Lie, 1997).

Souk Tanein in Nabatieh and Souk Khameis in Bint Jbeil cannot be understood or explained using the classical approach because even though demand, supply, competition, and lack of state intervention in terms of pricing are factors found within the market, they do not explain these markets' persistence over the last 500 years, nor do they underline the importance of the social, political, cultural, historical, and geographical peculiarities of these markets and the communities within which they are found.

On the other hand, we have the sociopolitical and anthropological approach to markets, which is centered on trying to account for all other factors neglected and dismissed by economic

theorists. Theorists who subscribe to this approach believe that the answers to economic issues are not necessarily economic, but extend to include historical, social, cultural, and political factors. Within this camp there are more variations on the concept of markets and market economy mainly rooted in defining market structure, process, and system within state versus non-state intervention. There are those who believe that state intervention in any shape cannot be tolerated and if existing would only lead to oppression by the elite in power over those who do not own the means of production. Then there are those who believe that without state intervention, the likelihood of falling into fascism is inescapable as economic self-interest and the quest for power take over. One sees capital as hazardous, while the other sees the combination of state and capital as a larger hazard. Furthermore, they argue that the expansion of market economy and free market enterprise is not necessarily linked to civil and political freedom nor to the equal opportunities in the marketplace, but could lead to oppression due to the commodification of humanity, society, and nature within a capitalist world economy. Out of this line of thinking, specific studies on periodic markets emerged under central place theory and location theory that emphasized the geographic aspects of these markets. The sociopolitical approach to market has all the elements required to understanding the market, but only if taken as a whole. It provides the right platform for looking at and understanding market dynamic in the past and in the present and provides a more probable explanation for their persistence over time.

The weekly markets in South Lebanon do not strictly fit into a specific model or definition of market. They do not necessarily belong to market economy as they are not rooted in Gesellschaft-type communities, nor do they reflect household-based markets often associated with traditional societies, as they act as dispensers for cheap manufacturing products; nonetheless, they exist within a market economy, function in parallel to it, but at the same time stand alone as historical, geographical, social, and cultural factors in the study of markets have something to contribute to their understanding.

The literature search on markets did not yield any recent studies on the market in a context that helps to frame, better understand, or even describe the weekly markets in South Lebanon. Most of the literature on similar markets was written between the 1930s and 1970s, as the case with Fogg and Miksell they focus on specific aspect of periodic markets, such as traders' networks, community relations, geographic spacing, and other elements. Most of the

studies were found within the literature and theory of periodic and weekly markets. Even though the literature provides a good frame and point of reference for Souk Nabatieh and Souk Bint Jbeil, somehow it applies to it within the context of the market in the early 19th century. It is almost like speaking of these markets 50 or 100 years ago—reviewing this literature almost had the effect of describing these markets in the past, with little to say about their status and role today.

In order to understand Souk Tanein in Nabatieh and Souk Khameis in Bint Jbeil, we must dissociate these markets from the literature review and simply look at the current dynamic of the market, the people, and the communities as a whole. We also must look at the geo-historical and political meaning of these markets to the people in this region, taking into account their struggle and seeing the market in relation to their identity as South Lebanese.

CHAPTER 3
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Research Purpose and Thesis Statement

The purpose of the research was to examine the rural weekly markets in South Lebanon and their role in the sociopolitical and economic development of towns in the region. The research was aimed at better understanding the dynamic and relationship between market and society in South Lebanon.

According to classical economists, markets are governed by the interplay between the economic factors of supply and demand. For social and political scientists and anthropologists, on the other hand, markets are not autonomous, but subordinated to politics, religion, and social relations. Rural weekly markets in Lebanon are examples of how markets are embedded within social, political, and economic relations. The Souk (rural weekly markets) in South Lebanon is (are) not autonomous, but embedded in (subordinate to) social, political and economic relations that have played a significant role in its existence and persistence.

Research Design

The research used an ethnographic approach to the study of weekly markets in South Lebanon. A qualitative research method was adopted to explore the nature of the weekly markets in South Lebanon, gain insights about the markets' past and present dynamic as well as better understand their social, political and economic role throughout the history of South Lebanon. An exploratory case study was used as a tool to present and analyze the findings from the interviews and observations collected.

The research questions are:

1. What is the economic, social, and political role of markets in South Lebanon?
2. How are the interactions and interrelations between market and society played out? and
3. What is the best conceptual/theoretical understanding/framework that explains the continuing existence of these markets?

To answer these questions, five different aspects were examined: (a) the historical evolution, changes, and transformations that directly influenced the market; (b) the geographic and physical structure of the market; (c) the social structure, role, processes, and dynamics

within the market; (d) the role of the state, power, leadership, and social and political movements in the market; and (e) the economic relations, money, credit, and transactions associated with the market.

For the historical aspect, the major historical, geographic, social, cultural, political, and economic conditions that contributed to the evolution and changes of markets in South Lebanon were explored. It looked at the evolvement and transformation of the weekly markets in South Lebanon over time.

For the geographic aspect, it looked at the significance of the geographic location, space, and place in the existence and continuity of the rural weekly markets in South Lebanon.

For the social aspect, it looked at the social structure, role, process, and dynamic of the market over time. It explored the social, cultural, and political relations within the market; the demographic nature of consumers and vendors; class relations; social values, norms, and practices; as well as the nature of formal and informal networks found within the market.

For the political aspect, it looked at the state, power, leadership, and social and political movements associated with the rural weekly markets. It looked at the influence of the state, local authority, and political and social forces on and within the rural weekly markets in South Lebanon. It explored the power relations surrounding the markets and their role in the proliferation of rural weekly markets over the last few decades.

For the economic aspect, it looked at economic relations, money, credit, and transactions within the market. It explored the relationship between the weekly markets in South Lebanon and the Lebanese formal economy. It also looked at the nature of capital, credit, taxes, fees, and other economic transactions within these markets. For details on the questions and sub-questions, please refer to Appendix C.

Case Study

To answer these questions, two samples of the Souk in South Lebanon were examined: Souk Nabatieh and Souk Bint Jbeil. These two markets are located in one Governorate (Muhafaza), within two different Districts (Cazas) and two different towns. Souk Nabatieh is located in Muhafaza of Nabatieh, Caza of Nabatieh, town of Nabatieh. Souk Bint Jbeil is located in Muhafaza of Nabatieh, Caza of Bint Jbeil, town of Bint Jbeil.

There are currently more than 35 markets in South Lebanon and more than 55 weekly markets across Lebanon. The markets can be divided into coastal or hinterland markets. Some

are found within cities or towns, while others are held in small villages. Weekly markets take place regularly on one or more fixed days each week or month.

Souk Nabatieh and Souk Bint Jbeil are the oldest, largest and most renowned weekly markets located in the hinterland of South Lebanon. They expanded between the 14^{th} and 16^{th} centuries and continue to exist, transform, and adapt themselves to changes within society. Improved infrastructure and access to urban centers have not diminished these markets; in fact, they have mushroomed from a handful to more than two dozen in the last 25 years. Today, these markets play a critical role in the political, social, and economic conditions of the region.

Initially, the research started with three case studies: Souk Nabatieh, Souk Bint Jbeil, and Souk Al Khan. All three markets are located in the Governorate of Nabatieh. Considering the similarities in the history; geographic location; and social, political, and economic characteristics of Souk Nabatieh and Souk Bint Jbeil, they were treated as one case study using both markets as case examples. Souk Al Khan was excluded as a case example for two reasons: first, it is structurally different than the other two markets, as it is located on an intersection in a valley outside the actual town center; second, the community where the souk is held is predominantly Druze, therefore adding different social, political, and demographic variables to the collection of data, analysis and presentation of findings. Adding Souk El Khan as case study could have resulted in a comparative study of the markets, which was not the intention of the research. A list of the weekly markets identified in South Leabnon can be found in Appendix A

Sampling

The research used a multi-stage sampling process, including cluster sampling in the choice of the market and snowball sampling in the interviews carried out. The researcher identified a wide range of markets in Lebanon. The markets were classified into different clusters based on geographic location, urban versus rural, permanent versus weekly, and city/town center versus outskirts. Based on the above, it focused on a cluster of markets located in South Lebanon, from which two markets were identified to be included in the sample group for the study of weekly periodic markets in South Lebanon.

To identify participants, snowball sampling was used. Snowball sampling is a non-probability (non-random) sampling method used because the characteristics of subjects to be possessed by the sample are rare and difficult to find. It involves primary data sources nominating another potential primary data source to be used in the research. It is based on

referrals from initial subjects to generate additional subjects to be interviewed. Members of the sample group were recruited via chain referral. For the purpose of the case study, linear snowball sampling was used. The formation of the sample group started with only one subject and the subject provided a referral to others within the market. This pattern continued until the sample group was fully formed.

The data on the markets were collected using primary and secondary sources. The primary data on the markets were collected using participant-observation and in-depth interviews. The secondary data were collected prior to the start of field work and later during the field work based on book references provided by some of the people interviewed.

Interviews were carried out with four different stakeholder groups: municipal officials, vendors, buyers, and key informants within the political, economic, and social sector in Lebanon who are familiar with the market and its role in history.

For the municipal officials, interviews were carried out with current and past mayors (where applicable) for each municipality, as well as two representatives from the municipal council.

For the vendors, interviews were carried out with 20 vendors in both Souk Nabatieh and Souk Bint Jbeil. The number of people interviewed in each market was again based on a snowball sampling of the people willing to be interviewed. A total of ten vendors were interviewed in Souk Nabatieh and ten vendors in Souk Bint Jbeil. Four additional vendors were also interviewed through semi-structured interviews in other weekly markets in South Lebanon.

For the customers, interviews were carried out with a total of 20 customers in Souk Nabatieh and Souk Bint Jbeil. This included weekly visitors, occasional visitors, and rare visitors. They come from the market town or neighboring towns and villages. The selection of the customers was again based on a snowball sampling process based on referral and willingness to be interviewed.

For key informants, interviews were carried out with a total of ten people including journalists, researchers, university professors, and other residents from the towns and Cazas where these markets operate and who are familiar with these markets as consumers and visitors of the market.

Considering the political and security conditions in Lebanon, particularly South Lebanon, finding subjects willing to be interviewed was difficult. The choice of who was selected for the

interviews (mainly for vendors and customers) was limited to people identified and visited by the research focal person in each town. The research focal person visited the potential subjects and asked them if they were willing to be interviewed, and they expressed willingness to be interviewed. All other stakeholders were identified through multiple resources including word of mouth, background search, and desk review. For a list of people interviewed refer to Appendix E.

Data Collection and Analysis

Construct Measures

The research used a qualitative data collection process. The data were collected from primary and secondary sources. The data observed the following five construct measures:

The first construct measure is the historical, encompassig evolution, changes, and transformation of the market over time. This includes the social, political, and economic evolvement of the market; the major transformation issues recorded; and people's perception of the market over time.

The second construct measure is the geographic location and physical structure of the market. This includes the significance of the geographic location of the market, as well as the role of space in the functionality and continuity of the market.

The third construct is the social structure, role, processes, and dynamics within the market. This includes the demographic nature of consumers and vendors within the market; the relationship between the market town and the surrounding villages; class relations, social values, norms, and practices within the market; and relationships among vendors, consumers, and formal and informal networks found within the market.

The fourth construct is the political nature of the market in terms of the role of the state, power, leadership, and social and political movements. This includes the relationship among the state, local authority, and market constituents; political issues and power relations surrounding the market; role of the state and local leadership in the proliferation of markets; and relationship between markets and social movements and among vendors, consumers, and local authority.

The fifth construct is the economic relations, money, credit, and transactions within the market. This includes the position of the rural weekly market within the context of Lebanese formal economy; the nature of capital, credit, taxes, fees, and other economic transactions within

the market; relationship among foreign, local, fixed, and mobile vendors; the nature of supply and demand within the market; and the relationship between the market and political and social economy of Lebanon.

Data Collection

Considering the nature of the research and questions, a qualitative ethnographic approach was used. This entailed ethnographic fieldwork with extended residence in Lebanon, particularly South Lebanon, including the towns where the weekly markets are held. This provided an opportunity to participate and observe the daily activities and behavior of the people residing within these communities. It also provided insight into what was happening within these markets.

Data on the theoretical framework, history, geography, sociopolitical and economic setting, community, and the people were gathered from qualitative secondary sources including scientific journals, books, personal biographies, diaries, memoirs, letters, newspaper articles, novels, handbooks, policy papers, government planning documents, historical documents, and maps.

Data on the demographics, cities, market towns, dates, specific decrees, as well as other supporting data, were collected from quantitative secondary sources including national government sources (demographic, census, government surveys, and local government sources and trends documents), other sources (trade associations, market and opinion research, trade unions, professional bodies, political parties, voluntary and charitable parties, and academic research institutes), international sources (studies by EU, OECD, World Bank, and IMF) and non-published/electronic sources (data archives and international sources on the internet and the web).

Data on the five constructs (historical, geographical, social, political and economic) associated with weekly markets, what the market means to people, market evolvement over time, social dynamics within the market, political relations associated with the market, and the people's recollection of incidents and stories around the market were gathered from primary sources using in-depth and semi-structured interviews, with an interview guide. Interview subjects included municipal officials, vendors, customers, and average community residents within these market towns and markets. Furthermore, a common observation sheet with a checklist was completed for each market visited.

Stages of Data Collection

The research took place over nine years (2009-2018). In the first two years, the focus was on reading of secondary data, theories, studies, and other academic material related to the market. In the third and fourth years, the focus was on the fieldwork, including visiting the market; observation and filming of the markets; and conducting interviews with municipal officials, vendors, buyers, and residents within the communities. The data from the interviews were recorded, transcribed, and translated from Arabic to English. The audio and video recordings are available for further reference. The data from the interviews were used to support the findings. In the fifth and sixth years, additional visits and interviews were carried out to observe market progress and change. Observations and data gathered were later integrated into the overall findings.

The Syrian crises, starting in 2011, added a new dimension to the study of the market that is reflected in social, political nd economic relations in the market and market towns where these weekly markets are held. Even though this is referred to in the discussion of findings section, it will not be addressed within the context of this research.

During the write-up of the case study, it was apparent that more interviews were needed to support some of the findings. Around 20% of the interviews in the study were carried out between 2016 and 2018. The choice of themes and headings in the dissertation is based on the five construct measures addressed in the research. Furthermore, in August 2018, an informal survey carried by UNIFEL of the weekly market in South Lebanon was updated and validated through phone survey. This provided additional data on the number of markets, day of the week when it convenses, size of the market, period of establishment and charges collected by the municipalities. For a list of the markets surveyed refer to Appendix A.

Data Preparation and Analysis

The data collected were used to provide understanding of historical, geographical, social, political, and economic relations within the market. The study adopted an observation and descriptive analysis process.

First, the data were organized digitally based on the interviews carried out. To prepare the data for analysis, all the interviews (audio and video) were transcribed and translated. For efficiency purposes, the transcription and translation of the interviews from Arabic to English were carried out simultaneously. For each of the markets visited, a checklist of what was seen at

the market was completed. The video recordings were used to cross-check for the information recorded. Following the transcription and translation, the data from the interviews were reviewed. Key statements and words were highlighted to be used as support evidence in the write-up of the case study. Last, the data were labeled to provide structure and familiarize the researcher with their content.

Second, a framework was developed to sort the data. The framework was guided by reading and rereading of the construct measures, the research questions and the data. Accordingly, findings and statements from the data were plugged into the relevant construct measure. The framework helped structure, label, and refine the data.

Third, the framework was used to carry out the analysis. Recurrent themes from the interviews were identified and emerging patterns were recorded. Furthermore, the data were analyzed to answer the questions. Content, narrative, and discourse analysis were the three main types of qualitative analysis used in the research. Over the course of the research, summaries of findings within the market were made to help in the analysis of the data.

In terms of analyzing observations, strategies employed included describing critical incidents or major events; describing various places, sites and settings in which the different events happened; describing the individuals and groups involved in the events; describing important processes that took place within the market; and highlighting key issues that influenced change within the market.

Data Writing and Presentation

Initially the write-up was based on the five construct measures discussed earlier in this chapter. Each of the constructs was used as an outline for a given section in the chapter.

The sub-questions for each construct were answered using the data and information from the interviews and observations carried out in the field. Stories to support the findings were used in different sections. Once the questions were answered, the different sections were organized to better reflect the themes and stories that emerged from the interviews and observations in the field.

Based on a review and recommendation of the research committee for the initial draft, the findings and discussion of the case study were merged into one single chapter. The findings chapter was rewritten in the form of an ethnographic journey that addresses all of the above construct measures as the researcher moves through the market. Part of the historical section

was extracted and was integrated at different levels in the case study. The full section on the historical evolution, change and transformation of the market appears in Appendix D.

Instruments and Interview Protocol

The research used an interview guide for the in-depth and semi-structured interviews. The people interviewed were personally contacted ahead of time by the key informant in Nabatieh and in Bint Jbeil. Meetings were scheduled outside market days to allow the people time and space to talk in a comfortable environment. For the other weekly and permanent markets visited, the interviews were carried out during the visit to the market.

During the interview, the researcher and the project were introduced. Permission for digital recording, both audio and video, of interviews was obtained verbally as well as digitally. Very few subjects were against being filmed. If the subject refused to be audio or video recorded, then the interview was carried out without digital recording.

Interviews with the customers focused on how often they go to the market, whom they see in the market, what they purchase from the market, how they see the market, and what it means to them. Interviews with vendors focused on how long they have been coming to the market. Other questions included: If they have a fixed booth or a periodic booth, what fees do they pay? What do they sell? Do they sell on cash or credit? From where do they buy their merchandise? How do sales vary through the seasons? How much do they sell? Interviews with the key informants focused on the main research question and the 5 main sub-questions. In some cases, the interviews focused on one specific question or all 5 questions, depending on what they could answer.

In addition to the interview guide, an observation sheet was completed for each market visited. The observation sheet included information on the location of the market, major landmarks within the town and the market place, people interviewed, people observed, stands, shops, and products. A sample copy of the interview guide and observation sheet appears in Appendix F.

Research Procedure

The research procedure for the markets in South Lebanon was complicated, due to security reasons. Considering the fact that the markets were located in South Lebanon, a series of permissions was needed to conduct interviews as well as film the markets. A letter from the

university combined with a personal letter addressed to each municipality visited was provided. The letter underlines the purpose of the visit, synopsis of the research carried out, andpermission requested to talk to people and film the market.

Upon arrival to the market, a visit to the municipality was carried out to meet with the mayor and provide the letter of permission to visit and conduct interviews within the market. The mayor would then assign the research team someone from the municipality to accompany the team throughout the market to facilitate the visit and discussion with the vendors and the people. Each person interviewed was provided with background information on the purpose of the research. If needed, the person from the municipality would facilitate the meeting.

In Nabatieh and Bint Jbeil, the interviews with the vendors and customers were carried out outside the market day. These interviews were based on a snowball sampling of people contacted and willing to be interviewed. Accordingly, a meeting was set, and the interviews were carried out. The same was true for the mayor and members of the municipal council. A letter that outlines the purpose of the visit, the research question, permission to talk to people, permission to film, and permission to record was provided to the municipality ahead of time. In cases where interviews were conducted with vendors and people outside market days, no authorization was required. Accordingly, a meeting was scheduled outside the market day to interview the constituents.

Validity and Reliability

To address reliability, the findings of the research were verified through examination of raw data, field visit, and analysis notes and triangulation of data. Data from interviews and data observation were corroborated to ensure consistency. Evidence that supports the emerging themes was compared against the different facts and information provided by the different stakeholders interviewed. It was also cross-checked against what was filmed and observed in the market.

To establish reliability of the information gathered during the interviews, the respondents were asked leading questions based on the interview guide. The answers were noted as they were accounted and described. The digital recordings were transcribed and translated to ensure accuracy of the account, including local proverbs, local statements, or elements of local dialect and culture. The information gathered at the time of the interview was not challenged, particularly with respect to specific dates and times. The specific dates for certain incidences

were verified later during the write-up process through secondary data. It was important to allow the respondents to freely express their point of view, even if this resulted in straying far from the actual question or in accurately reporting a date or time of an event.

During the analysis and write-up process, the descriptions provided by the vendors and customers were corroborated and substantiated by at least three or four other people who provided similar accounts of events, situations, or conditions. The information was cross-checked against people interviewed within Nabatieh, Bint Jbeil, and the other weekly markets in South Lebanon. Furthermore, the information gathered from the field was also cross-checked against secondary data collected including public records, historical accounts, statistics, reports, newspaper articles, and other sources. Deliberate recounting of false stories by constituents interviewed was possible, but it was unlikely as the perspectives of people were based on their own personal experience and understanding of the issues. In cases where there was a difference in the presentation of historical and political issues, a note was included indicating that the information presented is a reflection of the way each person saw the situation or interpreted the conditions and issues. Alternative views were presented to demonstrate the difference in opinions. In case of inconsistencies in people's accounts, the people interviewed were asked to further elaborate to internally check the story and to allow for better understanding of the person's perspective in narrating it as such.

The validity of the case study was enhanced by using multiple approaches and then integrating the information through a process of triangulation—by approaching the research question from different directions. The research was carried over a number of years, providing ample time for systematic observation of the weekly markets through visits; interviews; and direct observation of the market and its dynamic in both Souk Nabatieh and Souk Bint Jbeil, as well as the other weekly markets visited. The participant observation process provided information on the market, its location, type of vendors, type of merchandise, dynamic within the market, and other elements researched. This was further supported by analysis of private and public records of the markets and interviews conducted in the field. Furthermore, diaries and notes kept of the different visits carried out were also used to compare data before and after 2006, and before and after 2011, which are the two periods during which the researcher actually made visits to these markets. Furthermore, secondary data sources were used to cross-verify

certain dates, times, incidences, or other factors referred to and helped shed additional light on the case under study.

Research Limitations

The case study approach provided insight into the work and lives of people within South Lebanon, particularly the communities associated with these markets. It also helped explore the relationship and process between the market and people in South Lebanon. Several limitations to the research can be highlighted:

The research didn't follow a systematic procedure in the collection and analysis of the data. The data used in the case study were collected on a rolling basis, based on different site visits to the weekly markets in South Lebanon and multiple site visits to Souk Tanein in Nabatieh and Souk Khameis in Bint Jbeil between 2010 and 2018. Data and observation records available based on prior visits were used to build the case study or provide a framework for introducing the case. Observations from urban and/or rural markets visited elsewhere in the Middle East, the Balkans, and Africa were drawn upon even though they might not have been visited during the time frame of the research, i.e., 2008-2018. This was based on documented accounts of these markets through personal notes taken at the time of visit. The case study, itself was built using data gathered within the time frame of the research using the interview notes, as well as the audio and video recordings obtained. The other information gathered before was simply drawn as examples of observations of visits carried out.

The research study cannot be generalized to other people within the population including municipalities, vendors, and people associated with weekly markets in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region or the world. The entrepreneur, consumer, and municipality sample taken from South Lebanon may not necessarily reflect entrepreneurs, consumers, and municipalities elsewhere in the MENA region or the world due to geographic location and ethnic, religious, linguistic, and other demographic factors; nonetheless, they are comparable to the population in Lebanon in terms of income, household size, purchasing power, consumption habits, interests, beliefs, and more specifically South Lebanon in terms of history, geography, social and religious practices, political ideology, and cultural practices. The markets in South Lebanon may not reflect the reality of the market activity elsewhere across Lebanon because they were not faced with Israeli occupation; nonetheless, cities across Lebanon have been subject to civil war since 1975. They have all faced some form of structural war damage that had a

similar impact on the political, social, and consequently economic reality of the towns and villages where such markets could be found.

The research study cannot be generalized to other times of the year in which markets are held. The sample of people interviewed during the winter could be very different from the sample taken during the summer. Consequently, it might not reflect the reality of these markets for both winter and summer as the nature of the products, turnout rate of consumers, time spent at the stand the by vendors, weather conditions, and other issues come into play when looking at the dynamic of these products. To address this issue, the sample of vendors and consumers were interviewed and the visits and observations were carried out at different times throughout the year: summer, winter, spring, and autumn.

No scientific generalizations could be made about similar periodic or weekly markets across Lebanon or bazaar-style markets found in the coastal cities in Lebanon. No generalizations could be made about periodic or weekly markets elsewhere in the Middle East, North Africa, Asia, or Latin America. Even with cross-verification, generalization from a case study is limited. The case of Nabatieh and Bint Jbeil and the events associated with these markets are unique to South Lebanon. Conclusions can be drawn from the data, but the findings cannot be generalized to other weekly markets across Lebanon, the Middle East, or the world without further study.

Considering the nature of the research data gathered and how it might vary based on the participants' descriptions, opinions, and feelings, a replicative, falsification and triangulation method was used to reduce the impact of subjective data. The case study presented discusses the markets across history. The researcher depended upon people's recollections of events. People's memories of the market before and after the occupation, before and after 2006, or even before and after 2011 are likely to be selective and distorted. The data collected were corroborated and cross-verified based on multiple sources.

The region where the case studies took place is considered highly political in Lebanon. It is difficult to obtain raw data, unless permissions and authorizations are provided. Conducting interviews during market hours would have to be subject to accompaniment by the municipality officials. In order to avoid any monitoring by officials, all interviews associated with the two case studies were conducted outside market hours. Only personal observations based on site visits during market hours were noted as per the research notes on a given day. In smaller

weekly markets (other than Souk Tanein in Nabatieh and Souk Khameis in Bint Jbeil), it was a little simpler, due to the size and importance of the market. Most of the municipalities had no issues with talking and interviewing people or even filming the market. In rare cases, such as Bezourieh and Joya, filming was prohibited.

Ethical Considerations

Confidentiality was an ethical consideration in the research. The research was carried out in a critical region that is on high security. In order to protect the participants' rights, the participants' identities were kept confidential. In the research there is no reference to the individuals by their names or position, but as informants. Furthermore, the research purpose was explained clearly to the participants. They were asked to provide their consent verbally or digitally on film or on tape. A sample of the consent form used appears in Appendix G. Personal and sensitive topics were avoided as a point of discussion unless raised by the subject. Over the course of the interviews, the subjects were not interrupted for research purposes or time convenience. Furthermore, sides were not taken with the interviews; neutrality was maintained during the data collection process.

In the two main markets associated with the case studies, video and audio recording was not used on market day to avoid any suspicion that might arise as a result of the recording. The interviews with the vendors took place outside market days. During market days, the researcher focused on observation and informal conversations with vendors. All quotations used in the case findings were based on the in-depth interviews conducted.

In the secondary, smaller weekly market, the researcher obtained permission to film and record the markets on market day. The researcher also obtained permission from the municipality to interview people. All in-depth interviews were recorded at the municipal office.

Discussions on the market did not result in any potential psychological effect on those interviewed. In the case of Bint Jbeil, it might have evoked a sense of loss, particularly for those who lost their shops and homes in 2006.

CHAPTER 4

CASE STUDY: WEEKLY MARKETS OF SOUTH LEBANON

Case Example 1: Nabatieh Monday Market

On September 8, 2014, I visited the Nabatieh Monday weekly market after almost one year of absence. As with all my previous visits to the market, I parked in the city center, just outside the weekly market in designated parking with close access to the fixed permanent and the mobile weekly market.

Nabatieh weekly market convenes every Monday around Malab Al Baladi community field within walking distance of the Al Serail al Hukoumi, municipal hall, police station, post office, social security office, public works, Council for the Development of the South, Chamber of Commerce, and other governmental and non-governmental offices.



Figure 10. Reenactment of Battle of Karbla held in Ashoura in Nabatieh central square (also refered to as malab al baladi), October 1, 2017. M. Zaatar (Photographer). From http://www.dailystar.com.lb/News/Lebanon-News/2017/Oct-01/421147-blood-is-spilt-to-mark-ashura-in-nabatieh-south-lebanon.ashx.

Historically, Malab al Baladi was referred to as *al Baydar* or *al Mayadein*. They are lands that traditionally belonged to the Miri (i.e., Ottoman property). They can not be bought, sold or used for construction. They are considered the shared property of the town and was traditionally used by the town inhabitants for the collection of wheat and/or as an open market place before the construction of the town permanent stores (Badawi, 2011; Salim, 2005). Today,

this space in Nabatieh serves as a community field for soccer games, theatrical plays, festivals, and other community events such as Ashura.[36] (See Figure 10.)

The Grand Serail is a key administrative center established by the Ottomans in the 19th century during the reign of Ibrahim Pasha (1801-1853). Similar to the Grand Serail in Beirut, Sidon, Tyre, Bint Jbeil, and elsewhere around the country, it is set up on a hilltop or port that overlooks the town, the souk, and the inside and outside walls of the city. The placement of the Grand Serail is often selected for its strategic military location, well situated away from the population, overlooking the surrounding area and allowing for control of the city. During the Ottoman period, it was used as a lodging place for the Ottoman troops. During the French colonial period, it was the center for administrative and control of the area. Today it serves as the site for governmental offices.

The first thing that you would notice about Nabatieh weekly market is its geographic and spatial size and structure. It is located in the town center on a crossroads connecting the different routes in and out of the city. Going in any direction, you are forced to go through the fixed and the weekly market, which is built around the Malab al Baladi, as depicted in Figure 10. The weekly market is a mixture of fixed shops built within old stone structures and temporary stands set up within the market space for traders from out of town.

The fixed shops in Souk Nabatieh are owned by people from the market town with claims to the shops for generations. They are divided into smaller markets (*aswak*) including meat, fruits and vegetables, sweets, clothes, shoes, and jewelry. Historically, it also included copper, blacksmith, and shoemaking markets. In the last 50 years, however, many of these tradesmen disappeared, and so did their corresponding markets. As the city expanded, shops started to pop up throughout the city, and many of these fixed markets lost their specialized character. For convenience, people would go to the grocery store nearest to their house to buy what they needed.

[36] For Shi'a Muslims in Lebanon, Ashura commemorates the death of Hasayn ibn Ali, the grandson of the profit Muhammad at the Battle of Karbala in year 61 AH (October 10, 680 CE). Every year Shi'a Muslims commemorate this day through a ceremonial mourning that includes marching, head banging, eulogizing, and recounting the events that lead to martyrdom of the prophet's grandson.



Figure 11. Nabatieh Market in the 1990s. M. Zayat (Photographer). From M. Zayat's personal archive.

The permanent fixed markets are open all week from morning to evening, traditionally serving the town residents and the nearby villages. On market day, the fixed shops take the opportunity to exhibit their products on stands in front of their shops, as seen in Figure 10. They sell globally imported products as well as locally produced goods, such as fruits and vegetables; household manufactured items, such as processed jams, pickles, and dried herbs; or imported products, such as cans, tissue paper, and detergents. On market day, the vegetable shops have staff standing on the streets calling to customers to sell their products. The fixed shops offer the owners greater security, more space for storing and displaying goods, and greater opportunity to sell items of higher value and quality. The prices are often fixed or non-negotiable. On any day other than Monday, the fixed market in Nabatieh resembles the coastal bazaar markets, with fixed shops within old stone structures, but they do not necessarily have the bazaar-like sense of the coastal port markets of Sidon, Tyre, Byblos, or Tripoli. The mobile stands, however, are located inside the peripheries of the weekly market. They are setup under tented spaces provided by the municipality, varying in space size depending on space allocated and line of products carried, as seen in Figures 8 and 9. The temporary vendors with their stands make up the majority of the vendors on market day. They are spread between the different shops. There is a

small space between the tents created to allow shoppers to pass through. Most of the mobile traders come from outside town and on market day drive their vans carrying their products, set up their stands, and exhibit their products.

Some have shops elsewhere and others are simply mobile traders moving from one market to another. In an interview with Ali (Abou Fadel), a 65-year-old cloth vendor who works with his wife, said that even though he still owns a shop outside town, he enjoys engaging in the weekly markets because of the economic return and social interaction the market provides on that day. His wife joins him at the stand in Nabatieh Monday Market. But on all other days he moves between the weekly markets of Souk El Khan, Khayam, Kfarkila, and Tebnein.

On Mondays, the mobile vendors carry specific lines of items, often stacked over one another due to the limited space for exhibiting the full line of products. Going through the exhibited items, it is almost customary for the vendor to dig through his or her van for a different, color, size, or type of item due to the limited space. For example, when stopping at a shoe stand to buy crocs for children, I couldn't find the size I wanted. The vendor went through his van to see if he had the requested size and luckily, he found one pair. Unlike shop vendors, with mobile vendors, prices are always negotiable. There are no tags or prices listed on the items. Most of the time, you have to ask the vendor for the price and he would quote it. If you like the price, you buy it and if not, you can negotiate it. Haggling is a critical part of the experience when it comes to shopping at the weekly market.



Figure 12. Mobile stands in Monday Weekly Market, Nabatieh Municipality. From www.nabatieh.org database.

I walked toward the market and entered through one of the six designated entry points to the market. Over the years and with the expansion of the market and increase in transportation vehicles, the municipality sealed the boundaries to ensure a car-free zone, open for pedestrians to walk around freely. Municipal officers are assigned to direct traffic away from the market. Every time I visit the market, I take a different route to get a better sense of the market, its size, type of vendors, people, and better understanding of the geographic setting of the market. With each visit, I noticed more details about the dynamic of the market and historic landmarks surrounding the market. For example, on this occasion, I noticed that the people outside the market are just as involved in the market as the people inside. They are all sitting outside, either looking at the street, calling out prices, or chatting with other vendors, hoping for walkers to drop by. I also noticed an abandoned landmark that belongs to Hassan Kamel Al Sabah, a technological leader whose inventions in electricity (solar cell) had a great impact on the development of 20th-century technology. I had been coming to the market for years, but this was the first time I noticed that there is an actual landmark and museum dedicated to him located in the fixed market.

On that date, there were heightened security measures in town that I didn't observe in my previous visits between 2010 and 2013. At the entrance of the market, there were iron stands with three security people wearing black shirts. The stands were partially to prevent cars from entering, but also to check for any suspects that might enter the market. I was stopped at the entrance to the market and asked about my credentials and papers. A security guard said, "I didn't see you before, is it your first time?" The security official asked me what I was doing there, who I was, and where I came from. I explained that I am Lebanese, studying for my PhD, and I was there to visit the market. I am not sure why he heard Syria and asked if came from Syria. I said, "No, I am Lebanese from South Lebanon. My name is Rana Taher. You want to see my personal ID?" He said, "Yes, please, show me your personal ID." I showed him my ID. He asked if I had a municipal authorization to do interviews. I said, "I am just walking and looking around, I don't need municipal authorization. I can get one if needed. I had one in the past." He said, "For security reasons and because of the situation it is better for you." (He was referring to the Syrian crises and the recent suicide attacks in Beirut.) I said, "Sure, I can work on getting one. I know many people in this area," and named few, "and would be more than happy to have them vouch for me." He let me go through. It was typical to be asked for

authorization when filming and conducting interviews in South Lebanon, but it was not typical to verify credentials of every visitor going in and out of the market.

I arrived around 7:30 a.m. The mobile vendors were almost done setting up their products. The farmers and vendors typically arrive at dawn with their farm produce and products using cars, vans, and trucks. They set up their tents and arrange their products on wooden racks, on metallic hangers, or on the ground. At this time of the day, no one is available to talk because everyone is busy setting up. Except for the habitual greeting of *Sabah El Kheir* [good morning] and a brief side look and a smile at those greeting, the vendors are too busy. I could see vendors gathered in small groups of four or five with their *rakwet ahweh* [Turkish coffee canisters] and pack of cigarettes, sitting on stools in front of their stands, chatting with one another or simply enjoying the early silence before the market starts. The conversations typically start with yesterday's news, the politicians' latest public statements, "Al Sayed's (Hassan Nassrallah's)[37] latest speech," and then move on to the lack of electricity and water, road blocks, and other government shortcomings when it comes to the provision of basic services. Of course there is also the latest Israeli transgression at the border or last night's air raid (sound echo from Israeli planes) and most recently, the Syrian war and its spillover effect in Lebanon. People in the South are highly politicized; politics is at the core of any conversation carried on between two or more people. It was the perfect time of the day to walk quietly and observe the market at will before it started filling up with men, women, and children moving around in the streets from one stand to another greeting vendors, sifting through stands, and buying their groceries or other household and personal needs.

After one year of absence, I walked around trying to get a sense of the market, looking for changes, searching for familiar faces that I had seen or interviewed before. I came across Abou Ali, an old man in his seventies, selling trinkets and key chains. I first met Abou Ali in Nsar weekly market in 2011, then recurrently saw him in Srifa, Nabatieh, and Bint Jbeil weekly markets. He has a family of 7 children, most of whom are grown up, moved away, or traveling abroad. Abou Ali is one of the friendly vendors who is always eager to talk. He comes from Joya, but he doesn't have a stand at the Joya Saturday weekly market. He spends his days

[37] Al Sayed refers to a ulama of religion among the Shii sect. In the context of this research it refers to Hassan Nassrallah. Hassan Nassrallah is the third and current Secretary General of the Lebanese political party Hizballah since his predecessor, Abbas al-Musawi, who was assassinated by Israel Defense Forces in February of 1992.

moving around from one market to another with his small stand of trinkets and key chains, earning the basic income to survive. Except this time, he didn't have his own stand. He was working with Bahij, the young textile and curtain seller whom I have seen in Abbasieh, Joya, Nabatieh, and Bint Jbeil weekly market over the years. When they are attending the same market, they have stands next to each other. Sometimes, however, I see Abou Ali or Bahij on his own. On this day, they were working together. He asked me if I would join him for coffee. I sat next to him on a stool, in the shade, for a cup of Turkish coffee. He didn't seem too well. Normally, he is more robust and has lots of stories and things to talk about. I could sense his burden. The marks of age were visible on his face. I asked, "What happened to your stand?" He said, "I lost it. I got very sick last year and couldn't make it on my own anymore. I had to let it go and now I work with Bahij in *Souk Tanein* [Monday Market] in Nabatieh." He asked me where I had been. I said, "I had a son and have been busy with work and study." I showed him the pictures. He said *Mabrouk allah ykhalilek yeh* [God bless him and keep him safe]. He asked if I had finished my study. I said, "Not yet. I am still working on it." I asked, "How is business?" He said, "Not so good. It has been difficult the last few years with the security situation, lack of visiting expats, and increase in the number of Syrian stands." I sat with Abou Ali for 20 minutes and then excused myself to do my round in the market. He invited me to come back when I was done. I said, "I will try to pass by to say goodbye."

It was almost 10:00 a.m. The market started to fill to capacity with women, men, and children squeezing their way through the stands. Walking down the streets, you could see men and women stopping to greet vendors and people on the streets, inquiring after their health, family, children, and grandchildren. Children tagging along with their parents; young girls and boys holding hands and walking around; vendors calling out about their products at the top of their voice, or in a sing-song fashion; people sifting through items on the stands or on the ground; people bargaining over price. Wherever you turned, you would hear "*sabah el kheir ya hajj* or *hajeh*" [good morning sir/madam], "*sahteik keef*" [how is your health], and "*keef il wleid*" [how are the kids]. On specific occasions such as Ramadan or Eid, you would hear words like *Eid Mbarak* [Blessed Eid] and *tinad eliki wil ayleh* [blessed year for you and the family]. It was clear that people knew each other. This is a typical market scene you would observe in any weekly market visited. People within these markets come from the same community and are familiar with each other, their families, news, and whereabouts. They have a shared sense of

community regardless of whether they come from the same town or neighboring towns. It is almost impossible to go through the market and not run into someone you know.

Every time I visited Nabatieh Monday Market, one reality that kept re-emerging was that the market is not only a place for people to buy their daily or weekly needs, but it provides a venue for social interaction. It is an opportunity for people to meet, gather, and socialize. On market day, you would find elderly women and men sitting on the side road, having their coffees, playing backgammon and/or chess, talking to each other, watching other people passing by. You could also observe families sitting in the local coffee shops having breakfast, lunch, or a snack. The *knafee* [a special type of pastry made from puff pastry, soft cheese, and vermicelli topping often eaten for breakfast or as a dessert] shops are packed, and you would have to wait in line for at least 15 minutes to be served.

Socialization is not limited to visitors, but also traders have their share of interaction. Seeing each other every week, many seem to have developed a special relationship and bond over the years, as is the case with Abou Ali and Bahij. The market has become a meeting point for many of these vendors, particularly if they move around in the same market circle. Early in the morning before the market is in full operation, vendors gather to have coffee and to laugh and talk about politics, social events, and things going on in their daily life. This was observed in Nabatieh, Bint Jbeil, Abbasieh, and almost every market visited. Most of the vendors have come to know each other over the years. Some of the vendors actually see each other at least 2 to 3 times per week in different markets. They know each other by their first name, last name, which village they come from, and how long they have been exhibiting. In some cases, they even know the other vendors' fathers or grandfathers. The market, for these vendors, is not simply about selling their products; it is also about seeing other people, knowing what's going on, and meeting and interacting with people. In 2011, I interviewed a woman who sells undergarments at Monday Market in Nabatieh. She owns a shop in a town half an hour away from Nabatieh. Nonetheless, she rents a tent on Mondays to sell her items. She finds it more rewarding because she gets a chance to meet many people in the market. She doesn't have to wait for people to come and knock on her door at the shop. On one hand, she gets to sell her items and on the other hand, she gets a chance to socialize.

This was also confirmed by other vendors in Bint Jbeil, Abbasieh, Srifa, Nsar, and elsewhere. During a visit to the Wednesday Market in Nsar in July 2010, I met with a vendor

who sells clothes. He moves around from one market to another including Nsar, Nabatieh, Kfar Kila, and Nsarier. He has been in Nsar market since it opened in the 1990s. He had a shop and closed it because it was not allowing him to make ends meet. When asked about the choice of the market, he referred to the distance as a determining factor in his choice.

> I don't like to drive [a] long distance; in order to go to Bint Jbeil, I would have to wake up at 4 am in order to make it to the market. Also, the cost of transportation does not help. Most importantly, here in Nsar there is Abou Hassan. I have to see him every week. He is from Kaet al Jisr and I am from Saksakieh. We are brothers. He loves me, and I love him.

There is always amicability with the people working in the market, but not with everyone. They have developed lifelong friendships through their work in the market. They have stands next to each other and spend the day joking, laughing, and talking to customers. Even though both sell garments, you do not sense that there is competition, only amicability (Vendors, personal communication, Nsar Market, July 16, 2010).

The same thing was observed in the Abbasieh Friday Market in July 2010. I saw a group of traders gathered around a stand for a woman that makes *manakish* [a Lebanese dough spread out like pizza topped with thyme, cheese, or other toppings] using the *saj* [traditional oven]. They were sitting on stools next to the woman, having manakish and sipping their tea. According to one vendor, this is a weekly ritual. Every week, they habitually gather for breakfast before the day starts.

The market represents an important routine in the daily life of the town and villagers from the surrounding area. From one week to the next, people wait to attend the market. It provides the people with something to look forward to every Monday. During an interview, in July 2011, with Batoul, a young hairdresser with a hair parlor in Nabatieh, she explained that she waits for the market every week. Even if she doesn't want to buy anything, she goes to the market to see what's in the market, go through the stands, and in most cases ends up buying something.

> I like going to the Monday Market. I see people I haven't seen in a long time. I go around 11:00 a.m. and leave at the latest by 1:30 p.m. It depends on how busy I am on that day.

In an April 2011 interview with Hosn Şan Kanbar, an 85-year-old woman from Kfar Ruman, she recalls how after getting married and having children, she would go on Mondays to Nabatieh to buy her weekly needs. Hosn Şan family moved from the Beqaa and settled in South Lebanon in the mid 1800. She was born and raised in Kfar Ruman, during the Ottoman era, therefore, the name *Hosn Şan*, as in *Good Glory* in Turkish. She has 13 siblings (7 brothers and 6 sisters). Her father was a farmer, who earned his living by selling whatever excess he had in the weekly markets. She got married at the age of 14 to a railroad worker. She has 9 children; the eldest is Hassan. Hosn Şan has lived through the World War I, World War II, Ottoman mandate, the independence, the Civil War, the Israeli occupation. She and her family never left South Lebanon.

Describing the market, she adds, "some days I would go alone and other days I would go with my husband." She would walk for hours, walking back and forth from Kfar Ruman to Nabatieh, carrying her weekly groceries and other family needs.

> Everyone used to wait for Mondays to go to Nabatieh. We used to get our meat, our fruits, vegetables, and whatever needed for the week. We used to wait from Monday to Monday to buy meat for the family. We would buy 1 kg of meat for the whole family. I had 6 girls and 3 boys. They were all in school. On Mondays, the kids would arrive from school, expecting meat. We didn't buy meat during the week. Monday was a day for meat. Monday was the day for *Kebbe Nayeh* [made from raw meat that is normally ground on a wooden platform with a hammer until the meat becomes like a paste; then it is mixed with special spices, herbs, and buckwheat to provide a very distinctive taste]. The whole family would wait for that day to eat kebbe, a delicacy only made on Mondays because the meat is fresh. There were no grocery stores, butchers, or *dakakin* [small grocery stores] in the village, like now. When I was done buying what I needed for the week, I would go to the butcher, select my *maalak* [meat prepared from goat, sheep or cow liver], he would BBQ it on the spot, and I would sit inside and have brunch. When I came home, I would tell the girls about my trip to the market, what I saw, what I had, what I bought—and they would insist on going with me the week after. Every Monday, I would take one girl. I would tell the butcher, I have my girl with me. He would pay special attention to the order.

The old woman added that in the market, there were also tailors, shoe makers, carpenters, and others. She said, “If I had something to be sewed or patched, I would take it to the Monday Market.” She continued,

> There was a tailor and shoe maker in the market. I would take our clothes and there would be a man sitting on a sewing machine. He would fix them on the spot. It is not the same now. Shoes, clothes, and other garments are available in abundance. Before, when a shoe or a dress got ripped, we would patch it.

She went on to describe her father and his relationship with the market. Her father was a grower. He used to have a small piece of land in the *Maydaneh* [the agricultural valley of Kfar Ruman]. He would plant vegetables, herbs and shrubs, and on market days, he would pull the plants out of the field, replant them in boxes, and carry them to the market. He would go to Nabatieh on Mondays, Souk El Khan on Tuesdays, Adeiseh on Wednesdays, and Jbeia on Fridays to sell his *shatle* [seedlings and plants]. He would leave early in the morning, carrying the shatle on his donkey. He would arrive in time for the market.

She added, “whatever you wanted or thought about, you would say, ‘*Aboukra* [tomorrow] I would go to Nabatieh Monday Market.’” At that time, there were no other markets around. If you want to buy or sell anything, you would go to the Monday Market in Nabatieh. Some women prepared *mouneh* [food preserved for winter such as bulgur, flour, olives, dried figs, okra, lentil, white beans, thyme, summak, and dried herbs] and if they had excess, they would sell it on Mondays in Nabatieh. The lady concluded that she stopped going to the market when she couldn’t walk anymore.

This was observed with older people in a number of weekly markets. The market represents an important and driving force in the daily life of people and towns in South Lebanon. The week is structured around market day. For many families, market day is not the same without a visit to the market. People have a special relation to the market that is part nostalgia, part tradition, part practice, part memory, and part lifestyle.

For example, in July 2010, during a visit to the Wednesday Market in Bezourieh, a meeting was scheduled with Mr. Srour, the mayor’s father. He is a former mukhtar in his eighties. When I went looking for him at his house, I was told he left for his weekly stroll and visit to the market, where he takes the opportunity to take a breath of fresh air, visit some friends, and have a sip of coffee before noon prayers. As I was walking to the market, I found him sitting

on the steps of a local coffee shop with a cane in his hand. I saluted him and asked for his permission for an interview. He said his goodbyes, and we walked through the market down to his cousin's house on the next street, an old traditional house just outside the market. Mr. Srour recalls Bezourieh Wednsday Market in the 1950s as cattle, camel and small ruminant market. It was not as big and diversified in terms of stands and products as it is today. Very few consumable products were sold in the market at that time. Most people used to grow wheat, barley, hay and corn. If farmers had excess, they would take it to the market. During the interview, I discovered that Mr. Srour remembers my great grand-father. The interview with Mr. Sour turned into a walk down memory lane of stories of the fights and conflict between the *abadayat*[38] of Bezourieh and abadayat of Abbasieh.

In another example in Abbasieh, the officer from the municipality wanted to introduce us to his father, an older man who might have a recollection of the market. He told me that around 11:00 a.m., he comes for his weekly stroll. And, sure enough, just around 11:00 a.m., we saw him standing at a corner and later walking around until it was time for noon prayer.

In Srifa, the same thing took place with an older shepherd who had married from the village and settled within it. He comes from what is known today as the *Kora Saba*, the seven villages that fall on the border between Lebanon and Palestine; after the 1948 land annexation, they were included within the territorial borders of Israel, but originally disputed to be part of Lebanon. Each week, he comes back to sit on a bench outside his in-laws' house, takes a stroll, and then leaves for his prayers.

I continued my promenade in the Monday Market, moving among the different stands; clothes and shoes constitute the biggest portion of the weekly market in Nabatieh. They are spread throughout the market, but you can also see them concentrated in one or two alleys. They sell men's, women's, and children's wear; undergarments; veils; shoes; and supplies. Along the way, I stopped a number of times to explore the different stands and products. It was always the same line or type of clothes, the same items being sold by different vendors at different prices. The mobile stands carry a slightly lower grade quality of products. I noticed that many of the stands carry almost the same brands. It is almost like everyone got their products from the same supplier. Rarely do you find vendors carrying more selective items not commonly found on

[38] *Abadayat* is the Lebanese plural word for tough or strong men of a certain community, neighborhood, village, or community.

every stand. If you are looking for a bargain price for a T-shirt, pants, or jacket, it is worth going through the different stands checking for price before buying one. Price negotiation is common practice. In an interview with a vendor selling children clothes, I asked, "How do you make it in the market, when your neighbor is selling the same item at a lower price?" His answer was "*rizá Ala allah; kil wahed beykhoud rizéto*" [Wealth is of God's doing. Each person earns his sustenance]. There is this implicit belief that they will earn and take what they deserve or what God ordained them to take. There is no particular sense of competition or market differentiation in terms of brand, quality, or price.

I stopped next to a small stand with CDs and DVDs. I was looking for CDs and DVDs suitable for my toddler. I couldn't find a wide selection; they were mostly video games and DVDs for older children. While I was standing there, an old woman came to buy a video game for her son. She had a piece of paper with the name of the game scribbled on it. She can't read and didn't know what her son needed exactly. She asked the vendor if he had it. Obviously, the vendor didn't know what he had so he started going through his pile of CDs and DVD games to find it. Of course, he asked me to help him. When he couldn't find what she needed, he directed her to another stand, as maybe she would have better luck there. The woman left for the next stand looking for her item. This just goes to show the non-competitive nature of the market.

When I am in the weekly market, I always get this sense that I am in a big carnival with crowds and crowds of people walking, talking, laughing, arguing, and smiling, with noise, music, and songs all playing out at the same time. It is difficult to code and decode everything with all the noise going on. Typically, you would hear slogans like "*occasion, ocassion, yalla ala occasion*" [sale, sale come and see the sale], "*areb w jareb*" [come and try], "*ahla bantaloun bi LL 1,000*" [loveliest pants for $7], and "*ajdad moudelat bas bi LL 12,000*" [newest models for $8]. The market always has its own robust energy with people moving between stands, in and out of the fixed shops, and in all directions. This is all part of why people are attracted to these markets.

Traditionally, market days were the highlight of the town. Vendors and communities prepared for the market days in advance. The traders would come a day or two before the market. They would be hosted in the *moukhtar* house, family and friends' homes, or any of the available local *khans* [hostels] open for traveling foreigners. People's homes would be open, waiting for the traveling traders with their caravan of goods brought from distant places. The

families—men, women and children—would be waiting for the trade caravans carrying spices, fabric, textiles, gold, shoes, silk, or other manufactured and non-manufactured goods. Community events—including engagements, weddings, and birth showers—would be organized around market day (H. Jaafar, personal communication, July 8, 2010; N. Ajami, personal communication, July 8, 2010). Other occasions also included congratulating a family or a friend on a newborn baby or grandchild, an engagement, or a marriage. Even condolences sometimes were given on these days if the person didn't get a chance to attend the funeral or the weekly mourning day commemoration. In the past, traveling was difficult due to the absence of convenient modes of transportation. Today with improved roads, means of transportation, and access to supermarkets and other stores all year-round carrying products, the traders do not necessarily carry unique items from distant places anymore. Weddings, and other social events are not necessarily organized around market days, as people do not come from neighboring villages by foot, donkey, or camel. Social events are carried on all year round and are not necessarily organized around market days, as families have more opportunities and easier access for gathering.

In an interview on April 17, 2011, with Abbas Hassan Wehbeh,[39] a pharmacist who published in 2012, a 2-volume book on Nabatieh entitled *Nabatieh: Within the Local, Ameli and Regional Spheres*he extensively spoke about the establishment of Souk Nabatieh, Bint Jbeil, and Souk El Khan during the Ottoman period as a result of the Ottoman leadership and interest in developing the interior markets to expand its trade with the West and better control Palestine, Damascus, and Hijaz trading routes. These weekly markets helped facilitate trade exchange among farmers and craftsmen within the region. Farmers, traders, and other people would travel for days by horses, camels, and donkeys carrying products and crafts produced by the communities in Palestine and Syria. They would arrive a day or two before; set up in local khans, commonly found in Nabatieh at that time; and get ready for market day. On market day, local farmers and producers would bring their excess of locally produced goods and crafts for sale at the local market. The household consumption in terms of fruits, vegetables, meat, and grains depended on what was produced, exchanged, or bought on Mondays. At that time,

[39] Abbas Hassan Wehbeh is a pharmacist by profession and historian and writer by interest. He published numerous publications on Nabatieh, the latest of which is a 2-volume book entitled *Nabatieh: Within the Local, Ameli and Regional Spheres*. He is a *wjahah* [prominent] and active member of Nabatieh. He is serves on Nabatieh Municipal Council.

Monday Market was the only place where butchers would be found. Families would wait for the Monday Market to acquire fresh meat. Market exchanges also included small ruminant and cattle sale, agricultural equipment, and culinary equipment. Many tradesmen, such as coppersmiths, blacksmiths, butchers, and carpenters, depended on market days. Even the *halawanjieh* [sweetmakers][40] producing traditional Arabic sweets such as Baklava, *Namoura*, *Mafroukeh*, *Osmalieh*, *Jazarieh*, etc., used to depend on the large trays manufactured locally and sold on Mondays. The market at that time reflected the needs of the people—their products, food, equipment, and material needed in their household or daily work. On the peripheries of market days [*ala hamesh al souk*], the market provided a venue for the gathering and meeting of intellectuals, writers, philosophers, and thinkers. They would come from distant areas for the exchange of literary ideas and political views. The market also provided an opportunity for *mousahara* [inter-family affinities]. A person would see a girl in the market with her mother or father and he would ask about her, her family, and where she comes from, and he would ask to be engaged to her. The market was a *moultaka* [meeting place] for everything in the life of the South Lebanese.

The significance of the market was further confirmed in interviews with a few other people from Nabatieh, Bint Jbeil, Abbasieh, and Bezourieh. In an interview with Hussein Jaafar, former mukhtar of Abbasieh on July 8, 2010, I was told that the market in Abbasieh started in 1945 in the same location in which it is currently held. It was specialized for cattle and *taresh* [small ruminant trade]. Traders would come from across Lebanon, as far as Baalback and West Beqaa. Traders along the borders would come and buy sheep, goats, and other livestock from Abbasieh down to Palestine to sell. People's homes were open for the traders. There were no hostels or khans to house the traders. They would stay with the families. In the former mayor's house, he would host 15 to 20 men at a given time. They would all sleep and eat at his home before, during, and after the market. On Thursday, everyone would be prepared for the Friday Market. The old mukhtar added,

> I used to have a boy who would go around and see if anyone is residing in the street and he would bring the trader or vendor to my home. The people in Abbasieh were known

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[40] *Halawanjieh* is the Lebanese word for sweet makers. In Lebanon, there are families well known for the tradition of making sweets.

> for their hospitality, generosity, and good nature. This distinguished Abbasieh from other markets established in the same period in the region.

He added,

> Wedding celebrations would start on Thursday in the bride's and groom's homes separately, they would go on Fridays during market day, and on Friday night, the bride's family would take the bride to the groom's home, where the reunion of the couple would take place. The weddings would go on for four to five days.

In Nabatieh, the municipality, community, and local leadership played important roles in organizing and managing periodic markets as well as in encouraging or curbing market activities. In Nabatieh, you can find different types of vendors and traders, including local producers, retailers, mobile traders, wholesalers, individual entrepreneurs, and peddlers. The municipality tried to group the vendors according to the line of products, such as fresh produce, new clothes, used clothes, household items, toys, spices, books, and antiques, but you can still see them scattered and spread out throughout the market. In the household section, you find fruit and vegetable sellers; in the used clothes alley, you find antique sellers; in the clothes and shoes section, you find stable food sellers. There is no real organization or plan for how the stands are set up. It is all on a first-come, first-served basis. I was standing in one of the small alleys of the weekly market that connected the two main roads of Souk Nabatieh fixed market, when a municipal employee wearing shorts and a cap came over, passing to the stand owner's pamphlets. He asked each person standing if he was the owner and passed them the paper. He said "*ubligtom*" [you have been served]. He asked the women sitting in the next stand, "Are you alone or with him?" The vendor answered "give her one. She is on her own," in a joking way. Then he moved to the second one. The vendor called the municipal officer and told him to come over because he had something to tell him, and they started conversing in an amicable way. The paper had some information on rules and regulations for the stand, such as cleanup regulations, clearing the space, leaving the place unattended, and absenteeism for 4 consecutive weeks.

Traditionally markets in Lebanon came under the auspices of the governor during the Ottoman period and French Colonial period and later under municipal leadership during the early years following Lebanese state independence in 1943. The first Lebanese municipalities were created under the Ottoman Empire, between 1840 and 1860, during the *tanzimat* [time of reforms]. Within the framework of the *mustasarrifya* [new territorial and administrative

divisions], municipal authorities began to take shape and became responsible for urban services without out any of the constitutive functions of a government (Hourani, 1968; Picard, 2002).

With the creation of Le Grand Liban in 1920 and under the patronage of the French authorities since 1922, the "municipalization of the Lebanese territories," particularly in Mount Lebanon, began to emerge as a model and pattern that is distinctive from the Ottoman practices at the local level. This carried into the subsequent independence of Lebanon in 1943 (Picard, 2002).

In the 1950s, General Fouad Chéhab, President of the Republic, took a distinctive step and approved a new municipal law that called for the establishment of 380 new municipalities in the various regions. He also broadened the powers of the *muhafiz* [regional governors] to make administrative services less centralized. In 1958, he developed a systematic policy of municipalities aimed at mitigating the strong social and economic inequalities between the center (Mount Lebanon) and the periphery (South, North, Béqaa). It was an attempt to create a strong centralized state and an alternative to the traditional local elites (IRFED Study, 1963).[41] The first municipal elections took place in 1963. The next municipal elections were in 1998, eight years after the end of the civil war in 1990.

The municipality of Nabatieh was first established in 1978, following the 1977 Law of Municipalities. The municipality was granted authority over all issues of public interest and work within its boundaries.[42] It is responsible for the budget; collecting fees and taxes; managing properties; and managing public utilities and infrastructure, such as health, sanitation, water, lighting, local transportation, streets, and gardens. This is carried out under the supervision of the *qa'im maqam* [district commissioner], muhafiz of the South, or *wazir al-dakhiliyya* [minister of interior]. The municipality has a 21-member council elected every six years that serves as the decision-making body. The management of the weekly market falls under the jurisdiction of the municipality (21-member council and president). Its role over the

[41] L'Institut International de Recherches et de Formation en Vue du Développment Integral Harmonisé (IRFED) is a mission led by Father Lebret and a team of academics and Lebanese technocrats to conduct the first large-scale socioeconomic study for Lebanon frin 1960-1961. The results are presented in the report in French entitled *Besoins et Possibilités de Développement du Liban*, a 20-volume development plan (Développement et Civilisations Lebret-Irfed, 2005).

[42] For the original law, see *Marsum Ishtira'i Raqam 188: Qanun al-Baladiyyat* issued on June 30, 1977. The government amended the law several times in the post-war period, most notably through *Qanun Raqam 665: Ta'dilat 'Ala Ba'd al-Nusus fi Qanun Intikhab A'da' Majlis al-Nuwwab wa-Qanun al-Baladiyyat wa-Qanun al-Mukhtarin* issued on December 29, 1997.

years has included market initiation, setting, spacing, registrations, authorization, fee collection, inspection, monitoring, and support services. According to Abbas Wehbeh, the municipality underwent paralysis that lasted for 35 years. Even though new municipalities were established, many lack knowledge on municipal governance. In Arabic it is referred to as *thakafet baladiet.* This has resulted in the retraction of their role at all levels, including market organization and management.

Traditionallybetween 1978 and 2008, Nabatieh was under the political leadership of Hareket Amal. In 2008, Hizballah won the majority of the seats in the municipal council. In an interview with former Municipal President of Nabatieh, Mustapha Badredeine, on August 21, 2011, he spoke about the importance of the weekly market in the local economic development of the town and the region. He emphasized the need for municipalities to have a specific economic policy to drive people into the market, link the markets to local production process, improve the facilities of the market, and work on the specialization of products. His vision of the weekly market of Nabatieh was that of a more modern market similar to farmers markets in Europe with community development initiatives built around market days. He referred to the UNDP and European Union (EU) effort to organize, rehabilitate, and restructure the market and how these strategies didn't particularly take off because of the popular nature of the market.

This was further supported by an interview with Abbas Wehbeh, who explained that there were a number of efforts to organize the market space (move it from inside the baydar to the outside space), regulate permissions and licenses for stands, collect symbolic rental fees (between LL 5,000 and LL 10,000), and manage the logistics. The fees collected by the municipality partially go toward covering the logistic cost of cleaning, (This statement was reiterated by most municipal officials, including Saksakieh, Bezourieh, Maarakeh, and Srifa.)

In an interview with the mayor of Saksakieh in July of 2010, he expressed the sentiment that the market is not cost effective, i.e., the municipality cannot collect enough fees to cover the cost of cleaning (which is approximately $200), which makes the municipality consider closing it down. When asked if he has a strategy to revitalize the market, he didn't have any suggestions. Similar to other municipal leaders, he reiterated that mushrooming of markets has limited the economic role of the market in terms of sales turnover, number traders, visiting customers, and other. Today, in every other village there is a market.

In Bezourieh, during my visit in July of 2010, the mayor decided to conduct his inspection trip to the market. He was a newly elected mayor and it was his first visit and mission to the market. He went around to the stands and picked different products to make sure that the expiry date was good, that the products were well priced, that they were not selling things inappropriately to children, and so on. Mayors should do this throughout the year to make sure that the markets are performing as such. There was no issue to speak of and no trader was found at fault or fined. This was the only time in which a mayor was observed being present, inspecting or even visiting a market.

In the case of Marakeh, Mohamad Saad, the former mayor, worked on moving the market into the town in order to allow for increased economic integration with the permanent shops as well as increased accessibility within walking distance. Policy with regard to the market was not very clear. In the case of the vegetable market, for example, it was located down a dirty and skewed rubble path, squeezing the vegetable producers and consequently limiting the number of traders and varieties available; almost all of the vegetable producers complained about their setting when compared to their setting in the market of Abbasieh, where they had a larger and more convenient spot (M. Saad, personal communication, July 12, 2010).

In none of the markets visited did the municipalities have a specific economic policy to drive people into the market, link the markets to local production processes, improve the facilities of the market, and work on the specialization of products. It seemed that most of the municipalities saw the market as a social space to gather people and less of a space linked to the local economic development of the village itself. Still, most of the municipalities did mention that they tried to selectively mix and match traders with distinctive varieties and products carried to avoid duplication, but not necessarily competition.

Some UN Agencies, Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), and even political parties tried to organize the markets in Nabatieh, Bint Jbeil, and Souk El Khan, but most of their efforts focused on rehabilitation of infrastructure, preservation of old architecture, paving of roads, and management of hazardous waste associated with the fixed markets. Municipal leaders failed to capitalize on potential development of both fixed and weekly markets due to the lack of organization and vision for the economic value and importance of the market to the community. It was not seen as an asset that could be built on for local economic development. Traders and vendors improved their own tents by buying poles to hold their tents up. There was no money

invested in the weekly market. All investment targeted permanent or traditional existing markets found in the center. There were no initiatives to finance traders and provide them with capital to improve or diversify their products. The weekly markets are seen as an organic gathering of traders and people seeking to exchange goods.

I continued my promenade to the end of the road to the *bele* [used clothes stands], located in the same spot as always on the lower end of Malab Al Baladi, in front of *Husseinieh* [a religious house used by Shi'is to hold religious ceremonies, such as ashoura, mourning, and commemorations] on the main road. What strikes me in Nabatieh and almost every market I visited is the number of shops and stands that sell used clothes. The size of the used clothing stands varied based on the size of the market. It ranged from a single stand and/or shop to more than ten, as is the case in Nabatieh. In Nabatieh, there is also a whole section (road) located at the lower end of the market with stands selling used clothes. The vendors of used clothes usually pile or spread the clothes based on type, size, or color. People passing by go through the different piles looking for shoes, pants, shirts, dresses, or jackets. This again was observed in Bint Jbeil, Abbasieh, and Srifa. At the corner of the street, I saw the three antique sellers standing in their regular spots on each end of the road. They sell anything from artifacts, to bronze items, frames, old radios, old TVs, lamps, chandeliers, coins, and statues from North America, South America, Asia, Africa, and the Middle East. Among their wares you could even find ivory, an item banned internationally. These vendors come from outside town to exhibit their antiques. Some own their own shops or warehouses in their hometowns. They usually spread their products on the ground, as seen in Figure 13. The more expensive items are stashed away and only displayed based on expressed interest. In Nabatieh, one of the vendors interviewed in 2011 is a Palestinian who comes from Rachdieh camp in Tyre. He typically leaves the camp around 5:00 AM, going through multiple security checks to get out of the camp, and then takes and another half hour to drive to Nabatieh. On market day, he brings his items by van to sell in the market. He has been in this business all his life and has been coming to Nabatieh for more than 20 years. Customers come on a weekly basis to see what he c arries. If a customer is looking for a specific item, the customer would order it or specially request that he find it and bring it with him the following week.



Figure 13. Typical antique stand in Nabatieh. From www.nabatieh.org.

I tried to look for Ihab, the antique seller, but I couldn't find him on that day. Ihab was an antique seller who comes from a village around 30 minutes from Nabatieh. I met Ihab during an interview scheduled in his hometown on July 9, 2011. He was one of the dozen or more antique sellers in South Lebanon. Like many Lebanese, he migrated to work in Kuwait in 1975 as a labor worker at the port. In the 1980s, he was kicked out of Kuwait for religious and sectarian reasons and came back to Lebanon. He traded goats for few years until the late 1990s and then switched to antiques. His brother lives in Germany and sends him containers and items to sell locally. He slowly started to learn the value of the antique items he carried, as well as the type, composition, production, and history. Working with antiques is almost like an "addiction" for Ihab. He said "I liked it. It is in my blood. It is like an addiction. It is like sedative drug. When I am anxious, angry, or upset, I go and sit among my antiques." He goes around villages collecting items. It takes at least 100 visits to get worthwhile valuable items. It takes time to identify people, gain their trust, and enter their homes, particularly older men and women. For Ihab, antiques are the key to Lebanese heritage. He looks for items traditionally used by farmers, carpenters, mechanics, and others. He is very happy that the new generation is more aware of the value and importance of these items and has created museums to preserve them: "I am happy when I see a young person interested in preserving old cultural items. It makes me happier than to actually sell these items." He is not in this business for the money alone; there is a personal

and emotional benefit to working with antiques. He carries them, looks over them, and takes care of them like his babies. He grows attached to the items he sells and sometimes he keeps an item rather than sell it. He owns a warehouse at the front of his house, where he stores his items. He used to own a shop and then decided to close it for personal reasons. For the last 5 years, he has been exhibiting at Monday Market in Nabatieh. He was invited by a neighbor and a book vendor. He asked Ihab to join him. He told him, "we can have fun together." He is the father of the current book vendor. "It was better than staying home. You meet people, socialize and build relationships." "On my first visit," Ihab said,

> I discovered, it is not bad. The week after, it was better. In the market, you witness and see all sorts of things. I wait for the Monday Market. "*bountro mnatara*." Even if I don't sell anything, I go early in the morning, sit with the *sheleh* [group], have coffee, and chat. I meet people and traders from all over Lebanon, Zgharta, Becharee, Tripoli, in North Lebanon. It was all through word of mouth. People would come looking for specific item and they would introduce you to 30 more people.

For Ihab and many others in the market, the market takes on a communal structure as it provides people with the opportunity to meet, mingle and interact with friends, family, and neighbors. The souk is a place where many kinships and friendships develop. It is a place where people feel self-actualized. People come to the market because it is a place where they can see others and have other people see them. It creates a sense of ties and knits society together.

On market day, Ihab carries a wide range of products to be exhibited. He said,

> Sometimes I don't sell anything. Sometimes I sell for $500 or $600. A year and half ago, I had a customer who came and asked me, "How much you want for all the items on your stand?" I said, "2,800 US dollars." He paid 2,500 US dollars and loaded everything in the truck. There are few traders like this one that come to the market and pick everything.

According to Ihab and as confirmed by other vendors, the municipality has created zones for the vendors. Each vendor pays around LL 10,000 for every square (4x4). The vendor pays for the size of the area he needs. The vendor acquires a license from the municipality and renews it every year. It is just an application form, with no additional charges for the license. On market day, the municipal officer goes around at 11:00 a.m. to collect fees from the vendors. Paying LL 40,000 for the stand is affordable. There are two Palestinians and one Lebanese antique sellers

in the market. Anyone can come and set up a stand as long as they can pay the fees. There is no regulation against non-Lebanese—Palestinian, Syrian, Iraqi, or other.

Next to the antique sellers, I saw one of the few book stands in Nabatieh. It was still in the same spot since I first visited the market in 2010 (see Figure 13). In the Nabatieh Monday Market, there were few book vendors. They own their own book stores but choose to set up stands in the market on Mondays. When I first saw the markets in 2008, I realized that a great portion of the books are religious books. At that time, I asked one of my community guides about the reason for this and she said that since 2006, there is a strong wave of religiosity in the region, as if God needed to be present in every single aspect of the people's lives, including their readings. I was curious about what books and titles he carried today. I browsed through different books on the ground and noticed that this time, they were not predominantly religious books as I saw in 2010, but he also had biographies, history, novels, magazines, and other types of books. This could be a coincidence; a change in people's interest; or simply because in 2006, people were still recovering from the 2006 Israeli war on Lebanon which meant they were particularly attuned to their religion. I noticed very few people stopping to pick up books unless looking for a specific title. I tried to find the vendor, but he was not there. He was at the back of the stand having a sandwich and talking to other vendors. Slowly he came to where I was standing and asked me what I was looking for. I asked if had any books on markets, Nabatieh, or some of the well-known authors of the south. He didn't have any.

On May 1, 2011, I visited Mohamad Daher in his bookstore in a town around half an hour from Nabatieh. Mohamad has been in the market for more than 25 years. He refers to the market as *souk al shaabi* [popular market]. He said people used to gather in Nabatieh market to sell excess grains, fruits, and vegetables, or even chicken, goats and sheep produced in their households. Around 25 years ago, he started to exhibit books in designated spaces assigned by the municipality. He said each "*maslaha* [profession] has its own people and each group of vendors are specialized in a specific product or merchandise." As a book vendor, he moves around from one market to another. On Mondays he exhibits in Baalback, Marej and Gaza in Beqaa, and on Tuesdays in Taalbaya, Chtoura. In South Lebanon, on Thursdays he exhibits n Bint Jbeil, Wednesdays in Taibeh, and Fridays in Abbasieh. Also, he used to go to Sunday Market in Beirut. *Byousdouna* [customers] come specifically to see what he has. Depending on their economic situation that week, they would buy books; *hsab keef myasara*.



Figure 14. Mohamad Daher's Book Stand in Nabatieh Monday Market in the early 1990s, still located in the same spot today. M. Zayat (Photographer). From M. Zayat's personal archive.

For Mohamad, Monday Market is a *souk shabieh* [popular market] because prices on that day are lower than what is commonly found in the shops, minimarkets, or supermarkets. It is also considered popular because you can find anything you want. What distinguishes Souk Nabatieh from other markets is its size and *madi wa tarikh* [past and history]. He and many that I spoke to believed that this market is more than 100 years old. They didn't really know the exact history.

As a book trader or vendor, he said he receives anywhere from 500 to 1,000 people who go through his stand on market day. This is not an exact number, as there is no census or data on the exact number of people visiting Nabatieh weekly market. He does not have a log book of the number of passersby or even people buying books.

Mohamad does not focus on anything specific. He meets people with different reading interests: for example, people interested in literature or not necessarily interested in political or religious books, and vice versa. Some people pass by and have a look, but they do not necessarily have a particular interest in anything. Sometimes they ask if he has new releases or biographies, or they mention a specific book title they heard about. According to Mohamad,

these days there is a growing demand for old books at bargain prices. If they can't find it on Mondays, they come to the warehouse asking or looking for it. Old books at bargain prices have become a source of pride for some people. "People *btitbeha* [show off] that they have a book that is 50 or 60 years old that they got for LL 5,000, but its value is 100 USD."

When I asked Mohamad what distinguishes Nabatieh market from other markets including Bint Jbeil, he said, "In Monday Market, you can find anything you need or want. It is the biggest market. It is bigger than Bint Jbeil. People from Bint Jbeil come down to Nabatieh to shop. Even though I go to Bint Jbeil, 4 to 5 times a year, I do it mostly during the summer season, when the expat community is visiting. I don't have business to go 60 to 70 kilometers to go to Bint Jbeil on regular basis."

Like other vendors within the market, Mohamad rents his stands from the municipality based on fees paid to the municipality on weekly basis. This space, however, is known to belong to him. The same spot was reserved for his father before him. According to Mohamad, the practice of applying for a space and acquiring a license or permission to set up a stand started in 2010. Before that, vendors used to arbitrarily choose a spot and set up their stands. Space was allocated based on an informal agreement or knowledge that this space is allocated for this person and no one would take his place unless he is absent. In this case the new person is given the space for the period of absenteeism only. According to Mohamad,

> With time, everyone in the market came to know that this space is allocated for Mohamad Daher (book vendor) and no one would take your space no matter what! If someone new came and wants to set up a stand, it is the responsibility of the Municipality to find a space to set up his stand. Places in Nabatieh are also hereditary and passed on to children. These things are happening. For example, my father and myself—both of us are in Nabatieh market. Sometimes my father is tired or sick and cannot go to the market. In this case, I take over his stand and I also exhibit books. So I manage the two stands. If I am absent, the municipality might pass my space to someone else! It happens sometimes. I can regain my space after that.

I find the antique and the books stands and sellers the most interesting within the market. They are a reflection of the unique identity of the market. They give visitors a real sense of the treasures and bargains found in weekly markets. The books provide perspective on the cultural identity of the people and reflect the interest of the population at a given time.

I continued my walk around the market, up the other parallel road of the Malab Al Baladi, to where most of the household stands are lined up. Household items is another significant category of items found within the weekly market. The household items are mostly made in China and consist of plastic containers, buckets, trash cans, knives, forks, trays and other household items. If you are looking for a specific household item, you can easily find it there. The same line of products is also carried in the fixed shop, but they are priced at 10% to 15% more than what you would pay on market day.

The prevalence of Chinese products in the weekly market reflects the change and needs in people's lives. People's lives are no longer linked with local trades and locally manufactured goods as they were before the 1970s. In the past, people used to cook and order copper pots, pans and plates and wait to buy them. Today these came to be replaced by aluminum and plastic containers brought at cheaper prices and available in different sizes and forms. The same is the case for other craft industries, such as soap making, shoe making, blacksmithing, and carpentry. The work of the blacksmith and the carpenter are not closely linked to the lives of farmers. This changed the dynamic of the market and products traded in the market. According to Abbas Wehbeh, today all the markets in South Lebanon resemble each other, and items for sale consist of imported clothes, household items, and imported shoes, mostly from China. Even the shoe making industry in Bint Jbeil, which was considered one of the most important industries in Bint Jbeil, no longer exists. *Souk Kindarjieh*[43] in Nabatieh is lost, and the last of craftsmen closed a few years ago. The cobbler market, copper market, and blacksmith market closed. Even the meat market, which was known for the large sale and merchandising of meat, is almost closed. The butchers went out of the meat market in Nabatieh and they are spread out across town. They are no longer obliged to stay in the meat market. This is typical of all South Lebanese villages. Most of the towns in South Lebanon are autonomous. Instead of one trader, you would find five and instead one butcher you would find four and instead of one bakery, you would find three. Self-sufficiency within Lebanese villages is prevalent and has contributed to the retraction of the weekly markets, particularly Nabatieh. This, however, has not changed the fact that every Monday, Nabatieh is crowded with people coming to Monday Market to buy products, priced

[43] Souk Kindarjieh is a Lebanese name for the Cobbler Market. Traditionally, the cobblers were located in the main towns such as Nabatieh, Bint Jbeil, Tyre, and others. People would visit on market day to buy or repair their shoes on that day. They had their own spot in the market reffered to as Souk Kindarjieh.

slightly lower than in the shops. This has created competition between the permanent owners of shops who used to sell their products and the mobile vendors. The vendors that you would find in Nabatieh are the same vendors that might go to Bint Jbeil Thursday Market or Hasbaya Tuesday Market.

Other commonly found items are pre-cut and pre-designed fabric items such curtains, tablecloths, towels, and cushions. The models are pre-set and not custom cut. If a customer is looking for a specific model or design, he or she asks the vendors to order it and bring it the following week. Sometimes the customer would provide a model and ask the vendor if he/she can order the same. The varieties, designs, and models are limited. They are lower grade and lower priced fabric items. For more sophisticated models, elements, and colors, shoppers go to more specialized fabric sellers, such as Wardé, Baydoun,[44] or others in Tyre, Sidon, or Beirut. During my visit to one of the stands, a woman came to ask Bahij (the curtain seller) about returning a curtain she had bought last week that didn't fit. She said, "The size doesn't match." She asked about other options and he eagerly showed her the latest models he was carrying that week. There was no bill or receipt presented. It was very common for traders to exchange items from their clients after a week or two weeks from purchase without an exchange bill or receipt.

In the markets, personal contact is very important. People know or want to know the merchants, as well as the origin and place from which the product came, in order to determine if they have made the best choice for their purchase. Weekly visitors develop a personal relationship with the vendors and merchants. If they buy specific products week in and week out, they wait for the weekly market to be able to buy these products. Or if someone bought something the first week and then discovers that is not suitable, then the person is very eager to either return or exchange it with no bill of sale or anything to attest for it except the fact that the vendor either remembers that that person visited the stand last week or is willing to take their word for it. In some instances, women and men wait for specific vendors, particularly food and spices vendors, to buy their weekly or monthly need. For example, during one of the visits to stands in Marakeh, a woman came to see the man that sells drapes, tablecloths and bed covers.

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[44] Wardé and Beydoun are fabric manufacturers and retailers well known across Lebanon and Middle East. Wardé was first established in the 1890s by Khalil Wardé (1864-1947) in the Souk Hamidiyyeh in Damascus at the time of the Silk Road. In 1924, Khalil Wardé inaugurated his second outlet on Allenby Street in Beirut's Central District, and since then the family moved to Beirut. Beydoun was established in 1920 by Fouad Beydoun, and it specialized in commodities imported from USA and Europe. In both cases, the second and third generation expanded the business for the supply of fabric not only in Lebanon, but through out the Middle East.

She had bought two sets of drapes two weeks prior, and one of them didn't fit. She asked the vendor if she could return it; he said, "Yes, no problem. Bring it back and we will find something more suitable." He didn't know her name or even recall what she had bought, but out of trust he simply agreed to this exchange. This is a perfect example of informal contract, role of verbal agreement, and trust in market dealings. In the North American context, it would be impossible to either exchange or return without a bill of sale, a receipt, or proof of some sort that these drapes were bought at this place for this amount.

During a subsequent visit to Abbasieh market in 2011, a Syrian vendor was selling fresh *Mloukhieh*[45] in piles. A woman was negotiating the price for almost five piles. I asked her if his *Mloukhieh* is good. She said, "Yes, it is the best." This was the only commodity he carried. He brings his commodities from Beqaa valley: a region known for the production of almost 60% of fresh vegetable produce in Lebanon. Even though there was another vendor of *Mloukhieh*, the woman only bought from him for his exceptional quality of produce and because she knew the vendor from previous sale transactions. The same vendor was seen in other local markets including Marakeh and Bezourieh on two different days of the week, also selling *Mloukhieh*, as it was the season. The implicit belief and trust in the value of the product and produce associated with the vendor is also given. The fact that the woman waited for this vendor to come back with his fresh produce and did not necessarily send someone 15 minutes down to the city vegetable market to buy her needs reflects the implicit trust in the value it carried. This form of interaction shapes the dynamic of the market and the reasons why people visit these markets or would continue to visit these markets.

The market also has its share of dessert makers and sellers. Dessert shops on market day are very busy. Families and friends—men, women, and children—visit dessert shops for a traditional breakfast of *knafeh* or to buy a variety of traditional desserts, such as *Baklava*, *Namoura*, *Mafroukeh*, *Osmalieh*, *Jazariieh*,[46] and more. On Mondays, a good number of mobile vendors set up shop outside their vans selling a specific type of homemade traditional Arabic sweet with limited quantity. In certain seasons, such as Ramadan and Eid, the number of sweet

[45] *Mloukhieh* is the leaves of *Corchorus Olitorius*, commonly known as Nalta jute or tossa jute. It has a bitter taste and when boiled it becomes a thick, slimy liquid. It is eaten cooked, not raw, and is most frequently turned into a stew cooked with chicken and served with white rice and accompanied with lemon, vinegar, and onion dressing.

[46] These are different types of Lebanese pastries and desserts often made by specialized pastry makers.

sellers and the type of products they carry increase as people are more likely to buy sweets for the evening when they break their fast.

I kept walking all the way up to the upper entrance/exit, where the fruit and vegetable market is located. Fresh produce (fruits and vegetables) is the second biggest selling item in the market. The fresh produce stands are located next to the fixed fruit and vegetable shops, which on market day extend their stands outside their shops. Next to the shops, farmers gather to sell their own produce. Most of the produce found on market day reflects what is grown locally depending on the season. In the fixed shops, however, the produce sold is brought from wholesale vegetable markets in Sidon and Beirut, which could be Lebanese, Syrian, Egyptian, Jordanian, or other imported products.

Most of the producers I met in Nabatieh market are from Kfar Ruman. It is a village bordering Nabatieh with a *sahl maydani* [fertile valley], traditionally known to be an agricultural hub for the production of fresh fruits and vegetables in the region. The market traditionally used to depend on producers growing in sahl maydani, which was occupied from 1985 to 2000. Traditionally farmers from Kfar Ruman would transport their crops every Monday to sell their produce at the Monday Market in Nabatieh. One of the fruit and vegetable traders recalls how the majority of his fresh fruit and vegetables used to come from Kfar Ruman. Nowadays, he relies on products brought from the wholesale market in Sidon.

In an interview with an old farmer from Kfar Ruman, he recalls walking and/or traveling by donkey for hours in the night to sell his fresh produce at the Monday Market. He relied on income generated from the fresh produce sales to provide for his family. He used to visit two markets per week: Nabatieh and Jbeia around 20 km away. It was a smaller market, but known as a meeting point for agricultural producers. During the Israeli occupation, many of the families in Nabatieh relocated to Jbeia. Consequently, many of the farmers and vendors from Nabatieh used to go there. Bint Jbeil was a little far to go on Thursdays. At that time, transportation was not easy. Each market visited required at least one to two days' travel. Now with the available means of transportation, traveling is easier; farmers and traders have the opportunity to move from one market to another, covering at least 3 to 4 markets per week.

Today, you can observe a fresh fruit and vegetable corner in Souk Nabatieh that sells fresh produce from Kfar Ruman. According to people, it was of the few markets that has retained its historical tradition and role in Nabatieh Monday Market. Most of the local producers

I met are women. They sell fresh herbs, such as thyme, sumac, peppers and basil, as well as processed goods, such as molasses, distillates, jams, dried fruits and honey. They have small stands set up between the big tents or in an alley next to the permanent or temporary fruit and vegetable shops.

Traditionally, farmers in the area produce organic products, eferred to as *baladi* in Lebanese. When speaking to the woman farmers in Nabatieh, it is not clear whether they refer to it as *baladi* because it is locally or organically produced (i.e., rain fed). Unlike organic produce in the city, it is underpriced and not positioned organically on the market. For example, a bag of organic okra would be sold for LL 6,000 in Nabatieh weekly market, but it is approximately LL 15,000 in the farmers market in Beirut. Sometimes it is not considered very appealing because of the shape and size of the fruit or vegetable.

I spent some time going through the fruit and vegetable alley. There was a woman selling grape vine leaves, a special type that is made in Africa. I stopped to ask about it and she explained how to prepare it and cook it. While I was standing there, two other women passed and asked the same question. The answer was always the same. This produce is produced locally but the plant is African and is called korat. I saw one vendor from the Druze community in Hasbaya wearing his traditional attire sitting next to three or four women and men selling home-grown fresh produce.

Even though I was thinking nothing major seemed to have changed in the market, I noticed there were more Syrian beggars walking around and asking for help, as well as more Syrian vendors and more Syrian products, such as household items (detergents, tissue, and other products) stable food (canned food, packaged food, and other foods.). In 2010 and 2011, I used to find more products manufactured in Turkey, Kuwait, Saudi, and Qatar. I stopped and spoke to a vendor about business. He said, “It is not very good. There are more Syrian vendors and the municipality is allowing them to set up their stands at night. When they are around we don’t sell as much. They compete with us.” He was telling me this information as if telling me a secret. Considering the situation in Syria and Hizballah’s involvement in the war in Syria, the local government feels obliged to support the Syrians living in Lebanon. Perhaps he was whispering this information for fear of raising this issue publicly, or as if to say, “It is not our responsibility. We have our own livelihood to look after.”

It took about 3 hours to go through the market and make all the stops. It was almost 1:30 p.m. and the market was still at its peak with noise, traffic, and people talking and laughing. Around 3:00 p.m., the market started to wrap up, and by 4:00 p.m. the market was closed. Vendors unpacked their racks, packed their products into their vans, and dismantled their tents and stands.

I walked out through the weekly market's security check and headed out to a local coffee shop to meet Yola Kanbar, my friend, also one of my leading guides in Nabatieh region. We sat in a local coffee shop that sells knafee. It is located on the main street in the middle of the town, just facing the entrance to the weekly market. The place was packed with family, friends, men, and women having coffee or lunch. I first met Yola in 2009 through a co-worker who comes from the region. I was looking for a local guide who would help me in identifying people to interview for my dissertation. Over the years, she has accompanied me to many of the interviews I conducted with people within or outside the market. Over time, we developed a friendship that extended beyond our working relationship and that continues to exist to date. Yola is one of the unique independent thinking and working women living in Nabatieh region. Her father is a trader who comes from a family that is politically affiliated with the Syrian Arab Nationalist party. She is non-sectarian in her perspective and quite critical and vocal in her stand on religious issues. She studied law, worked in it for a while, and then decided to switch careers. In 2006, she got involved with the NGO network, working in the post-development and reconstruction of South Lebanon. Since then, she has moved from one project to another. As usual, we sat and talked about life, family, friends, and work. Yola is one of the people who is very fond of the weekly market. A habitual visitor to the market, she tries to visit every Monday or whenever she gets a chance. For Yola and many others within Nabatieh, both the educated and non-educated, the weekly market of Nabatieh is integral to people's identity and sense of belonging. It defines who they are and what they stand for; it is an important part of their weekly tradition. This is particularly true for people in Nabatieh and neighboring towns and villages within Muhafaza of Nabatieh.

The market reflects the social fabric of the community where it is found. This is reflected in the shared religion, ethnicity, and language and emphasized by kinship and family relations creating a distinctive social boundary and cultural homogeneity for each town, village, and consequently market. In these towns, a person does not belong to oneself, but is an extension of

the father, family, and hometown he or she comes from. Even for visitors to the market or in conversations with the elders, the discussion starts with a family genealogy and history, followed by discussion on other issues. For example, discussion initiated with municipal leader, traders, or other people starts with a breakdown of the person's genealogy from both the mother's side and the father's side. An autobiography of the person: who he is; where he comes from; who his parents are, grandparents, in-laws, etc. were all common topics of conversations and points of inquiry.

In Nabatieh or even Lebanon at large, it is almost given that you would find people belonging to a particular market often share common beliefs, religious practices, social norms, values, and ideology associated with the people found within these market towns. This is attributed to the segregation of towns and villages into Christian, Muslim, or Druze villages. For example, periodic markets located in Shia Muslim towns tend to be predominantly Shia Muslims—meaning they practice Islam in the same way, they hold similar values and social norms, their reading of history and historical situations is commonly shared, and their understanding of reality and everyday life is inspired by this overall ideology within the town itself and other Shia towns.

Markets situated in mixed towns or villages tend to be a mixture of Christian, Muslim, Druze, and other. In this case, their values, norms, and practices are a mixture of all three religions. For example, the markets in Srifa, Abbasyie, Joya, Bezourieh, and Marakeh are hosted in predominantly Shia Muslim towns. The markets of Nabatieh, Tibnein, Qana, Souk El Khan and Al Taybeh are hosted in mixed communities with Muslim, Christian, and Druze populations. This, however, doesn't affect the type of market itself or create a big difference in what it exhibits, but it affects the social dynamics within the market as well as the social norms and practices around these markets. For example, if the market is located in a mixed town, it does not mean that you would find alcohol displayed openly or that you would find someone selling ham, but if you walk around you might find a restaurant somewhere inside serving either product. Furthermore, even though you would still find the market operative during Ramadan, there would be no food offered during this period out of respect for those fasting. This would not change if it is a predominantly Muslim town or a mixed town of both Muslims and Christians. During Ramadan all the shops and stands that sell food would refrain from selling it for open consumption unless it is for the purpose of breaking the fast. Consequently, you would

find fewer sandwich and *Manaesh* stands and more stands selling dried fruits, dates, prunes, drinks, and sweets normally served in Ramadan.

Not everyone who comes from these villages or is found within a particular market shares the same views. They might predominantly share the same views on marriage, divorce, premarital sex, religious practice, drugs, alcohol, and other issues, but are quite distinctive when it comes to political views such as voting practice, representation, affiliation, and political views. In more than one market, when talking to traders and vendors to inquire about their products, suppliers, line of credit, and sale turnover, traders were very eager to point out the malpractice of municipal leaders, resentment of political situations, or disappointment with the overall government. During a visit to Abbasieh market on July 8, 2010, a dessert seller spoke on what he described as the "politics of death" in the political ideology of the south. He was eager to express this and elaborate, even though many traders refused to speak to me unless I had a municipal authorization and university card vouching for my credentials.

In an interview on May 21, 2011, with Kamel Jaber, a journalist from Nabatieh, he spoke for hours on his sense of pride in and attachment to the market. He comes from a prominent family in Nabatieh, and they own a family house at the top of the hill leading down to the market. When you enter his house, you sense his deep pride and respect in his town. He lives in a traditional, yet well preserved old house made from stone with photos of the town from the 1800s onward. Obviously, he is a collector. The journalist spoke about the history and role of Nabatieh and Nabatieh market from the Ottoman period to date.

One of the unique perspectives the journalist brought into my work was on the role of the market not only as a center for the exchange of goods, ideas, fashions, and provision of services, but also as a fertile ground for social and political organizing within the community.

Historically, the souk provided space for the various Arab national ethnicities and groups (Palestinians, Syrians, Lebanese, and sometimes Egyptian) to convene, gather and exchange. This includes both the merchants and traders, leaders and people in general. Under the Ottoman rule, particularly after 1850, this was critical because the Turkish rulership during the Ottoman period worked very hard on the destruction and erasing of Arab identity, concepts, language, tradition and even history. The market in that sense provided an opportunity to reinforce this through the links between people. It also marked the beginning wave of migration for the Shia of South Lebanon during the rule of Jamal Bacha Al Jazar (The Butcher) from the South to

Palestine, Jordan, Syria, and elsewhere. Furthermore, this can also be linked to the strong rise of Arab nationalism following the fall of the Turks in 1917, which also had strong links to the Israeli-Arab conflict in the 1940s onward.

The markets provided a haven for people to gather and meet safely. It was a fertile ground for the formation and rise of liberation and resistance movements. On the day of the market with the presence of hundreds of merchants and perhaps thousands of people coming to visit the market, mobility for organizers, revolutionaries, resistance people or activists was made possible. Otherwise, it would have been impossible given the circumstances. This was particularly true in the 1850s onward, and more so in the last decade of the 19th century amid the rise of resistance movement against the Turks and later in the resistance movement against the colonial forces of the British and the French in Palestine, Lebanon, and Syria. Using the theories of resource mobilization, the market provided this access and space for organized resistance and collective action. It provided the resources—financial, human, and other—to be able to mount resistance movements under the eye of the Turks and British. In the context of modern times, the markets provided safe havens also for resistance in South Lebanon against the Israeli occupation of Jabal Amel which lasted for more than 30 years and continues to exist to date in Cheba Farms.

The market provided a meeting point for party and resistance leaders to convene and a venue to get organized. With the various activities, bust, and movement within the market, organizing secret meetings or collective meetings was much easier and less suspicious. In this case it provided the perfect opportunity for both formal and informal ways of organizing at the community, national, and regional levels. It was within the market that the advocacy for change was carried out and the call for action was spread. On the walls and in the streets of the markets the word was spread, because it was within the market that the largest outreach to the public could take place. It also included one of the strongest tools for spreading the word through word of mouth carrying its impact to other areas including Palestine, Syria, Egypt, and beyond. The market was the place where celebration of victory would take place. The militants would march into the markets, if they happened to be taking place at that time, raising the flags of victory.

The markets and what was traded within those markets in terms of commodities, goods, and services reflects the success of resistance movement. For example, in Souk of Bint Jbeil, weapon trading was rampant. This market was known for weapon trade, with specific families

controlling the merchandising of weapons. At a different level, certain commodities within the market, particularly food merchandise, also reflected a certain era, or shift or change in the movements. For example, there was a dessert known as Faysalieh that took its name from King Faysal's intervention in the early 19th century between the Lebanese, and this became a trademark of this period and era (N. Ajami, personal communication, July 8, 2010). In the 2006 Israel war on Lebanon, vendors, with their expression of content with the victory of Hizballah over Israel, labeled their products with certain names that would affirm the villages' power to stand in resistance of Israeli destruction. This is an example in which merchandising of commodities becomes linked to specific content or discontent with events taking place.

Case Example 2: Bint Jbeil Thursday Market

It was early in the morning. The sun had just risen. I drove along the highway from Beirut to Bint Jbeil, a town located 3 km from the Israeli-Palestinian border, listening to the voice of Fairuz. The morning is never the same without Fairuz. It is part of the tradition of every Lebanese, whoever he/she is or wherever he/she is located. Fairuz has the effect of making a person reminisce about the past with the dream or illusion of a future in the image of Lebanon's golden period. It is a sense shared by probably every Lebanese. One cannot make this drive along this southern route without feeling a sense of loss for nature, the lack of respect for traditional architecture, a sense of disappointment for what could have been, and sense of power of all that remains: the people, their strength, their sense of pride, and their commitment and attachment to the land. Since I was a child, even though I grew up in Kuwait, lived in Beirut, and moved to Canada, my parents never missed an opportunity to connect us with our homeland. During the Israeli occupation of South Lebanon (from 1978 to 2000), my family would drive before sunset for 6 hours from Beirut to Naqoura (a drive that takes 2 hours now); wait at a checkpoint from 10:00 a.m. to 1:00 p.m. to enter what at that time was considered the security zone to visit our family in the South; and spend time in nature, going to the orange orchard and playing with children in our village—running around, playing in the mud, or simply going down to the beach to swim. It is something that I wouldn't do with my own children simply to protect their safety. Every time I take this drive to Bint Jbeil, old memories of my childhood growing up in the South come back.

Even though Nabatieh and Bint Jbeil shared the same history and experienced the same struggle, somehow, Bint Jbeil invokes in the Lebanese more images of the occupation and the

struggle against Israel. It could be proximity to the border, its occupation until 2000, or the sense of loss for what was before and what is now. It exemplifies the South Lebanese identity and state of mind, regardless of an individual's particular political or religious ideology. In Lebanon, people's sense of identity and belonging is triggered by their experience, memories, and knowledge of their history and past. The war has cantonized people's state of mind and altered their reality so that the common history is almost nonexistent.

I first visited Bint Jbeil on August 16, 2006, following the 34-day Israel war on Lebanon. I had heard stories of Bint Jbeil and its Thursday Market, but I had never visited it before. In 2006, the town and the market were completely demolished. I had to park my car at least 2 km outside of town and walk into town amid rubble, fumes, fires, bombshells, shattered buildings, and destroyed houses and stores. The sense of despair, pain, anger, and loss was palpable. It was difficult to actually figure out where the town center and market were located, as all the landmarks had been destroyed.

This came six years after Israel's withdrawal from the security zone in South Lebanon in 2000. On May 25, 2000, Hassan Nasrallah, the third and current Secretary General of the Lebanese political party Hizballah, delivered a triumphal speech in the heart of Bint Jbeil, referred to as the triumph speech of "House of Spiders" (Beit Al Ankabout)—a tribute to the people and the militants who had sacrificed their life for this victory. He reiterated that the Israeli withdrawal from the security zone was forced; there was no choice but to withdraw. He emphasized that what took place in South Lebanon was a complete Israeli failure. This made the Israeli generals commence planning to even the score of the military defeat.

On July 12, 2006, Hizballah performed "Operation Truthful Pledge." They captured two Israeli soldiers, killed eight others, and demolished three Merkava tanks. This triggered what the Israelis referred to as "War on Hizballah" that resulted in 1200 casualties; more than 4,800 injured; more than 1 million displaced Lebanese; more than 500,000 houses destroyed; and the complete devastation of South Lebanon, with more than 100 bridges, oil refineries, major access roads, 30,000 housing units in South Lebanon, 70,000 housing units in Beirut's eastern suburb, 1.2 million cluster bombs spread out across its agricultural land, towns and villages and total incurred deficit of more than 2.8 billion dollars (IMF, 2007).



Figure 15. Town of Bint Jbeil following July 2006 War, August 26, 2006. W. Ladki (Photographer). From W. Ladki's personal archive.

Bint Jbeil, as the "capital of resistance and liberation,"[47] was the main target. It was considered by the Israelis a "Hizballah site" and "the capital of world terror." The Israelis were determined to hoist the Israeli flag in the same location where Hassan Nasrallah delivered his speech in 2000. Consequently, the city witnessed the most intense fighting over a period of 30 days, leaving the whole city center and Bint Jbeil's 500-year-old market in rubble.

On August 14, 2006, following the end of the 34-day war, the Israelis withdrew from South Lebanon and the war on Hizballah ceased. On September 22, 2006, Hassan Nasrallah delivered his "God's Victory Speech," reiterating the importance of Bint Jbeil. He vowed that Bint Jbeil would be rebuilt along the same tradition and architectural design of the past and "even better."

In 2008, I visited Bint Jbeil for the second time, within the framework of the Murals of Art project, implemented by Alternative Initiative Network (AIN), funded by the EC, launched

[47] There is no clear citation or reference for this wording. After 2000 and more so after 2006, this became a popular label for Bint Jbeil, often reflected in slogans used by the community in their speech, billboards, and even documented in newspaper articles and elsewhere. This is taken from Hassan Nassrallah's speeches throughout the years.

in South Lebanon and focused on non-violent communication between Christian and Muslim Lebanese living within Caza of Bint Jbeil. During this period, Bint Jbeil Thursday Market was relocated temporarily to one of the main roads to the town. Temporary shacks made from tin were set up for the permanent owners of the fixed shops, who lost their shops during the war. Even though Thursday Market of Bint Jbeil continued to reconvene, it did not appear very robust. The number of vendors and traders was limited. The market felt like a flea market set up on the side of the road. Some of the residents at that time spoke about their loss and sense of despair for what they owned and lost during the war. It wasn't just the market; it was their life, history, and future. Even though the towns and markets in Srifa, Bazourieh, Joya, and Abbasieh all experienced a similar attack, the level of destruction is not comparable to that experienced in Bint Jbeil.

In 2006, Hizballah took on the role of reconstructing Bint Jbeil market with a better and more appealing reflection of its historic and architectural significance. It was a project undertaken by Jihad Al Bina, a development and reconstruction organization operated by Hizballah, funded by the Government of Qatar with support from the Municipality of Bint Jbeil. The cost of rebuilding the market was estimated at 3 million dollars, not including the cost of the setting up the temporary market during this process. On August 14, 2010, four years after its destruction, the market was inaugurated by the Qatar minister of foreign affairs, Lebanese prime minister, Lebanese head of Parliament, and other government officials. Souk Bint Jbeil became a symbol of the ability of South Lebanon to reconvene normal and natural life with the market being the cultural, political, and social focal point.

On August 3, 2010, a week prior to the inauguration of Bint Jbeil market, the Israelis launched a border cross fight that resulted in the death of two Lebanese soldiers and a well-known Lebanese journalist. I was in Taibeh, one village way from the shooting, the day before, acquiring permission to visit and film the Wednesday weekly market. The morning following the shooting, the market in Taibeh reconvened with traders, as if nothing out of the ordinary had taken place the day before. Life was back to normal, even though there was a high alert at the borders and the mobility was restricted the day before; nonetheless, one cannot disregard the lower turnout in traders, vendors, customers, and, therefore, business compared to other Wednesdays (Traders, personal communication, August 2010).

My first visit back to Bint Jbeil Thursday Market was on September 9, 2010, almost 1 month after the inauguration of the newly rebuilt market. I left around 6:00 a.m. from Beirut. It was a 2-hour drive. I parked on a street, just at the entrance to Bint Jbeil market. I walked up the hill, past the fixed shops, banks, and commercial centers. The weekly market was set up in the main town *saha*[48] along two of the parallel roads that connect the different entrances and exits to the town center. As I entered the market, I was greeted by tented stands with people selling plastic household items, shoes, clothes, and toys. There was no particular division or classification for the vendors found within the market. One could find a vendor selling shoes and next to him another vendor selling plastic or another one selling toys, spices, or hardware.

I was scheduled to meet Reema. She was one of my field assistants. Reema is a sociologist. She graduated from the Lebanese University. She lives in Bint Jbeil and was referred to me by a former professor at the Lebanese University and friend of my husband. We worked together on the Murals of Art project between 2008 and 2010. When I started my work and research, I reached out to Reema to help me identify people to interview in Bint Jbeil.

On that day, I met Reema at the corner of one of the stores that sells household items located in the market. It had been almost 2 years since I had seen her. Working with people living within the community is critical in South Lebanon. Even though I come from South Lebanon and my family and extended family come from well-known families, when visiting any specific town or village, particularly the area within the security zone, there is always this sense of mistrust. Walking around with local residents, particularly in places like Bint Jbeil, helps break the cultural barriers as well as build trust with people. Outsiders are always seen as the person from the city or, even worse, the person working and living abroad. I might speak Arabic, but the accent and dominance of the English or French language in my articulation is obvious and automatically creates communication barriers with people. I rarely visit Bint Jbeil without seeing or walking with Reema.

We stood together for some time and started our promenade in the market. The market is set up on three parallel streets within and around the town square. Within this area are also the municipal office, governor's office, post office, police station, and public library, with shops and stores on both sides of the street.

[48] The town *saha* is an open space normally located within each of the villages and towns in Lebanon. Traditionally, the town saha included access to the town's landmarks. It is the equivelant of a town square.

Similar to all towns, the town saha of Bint Jbiel is the heart and soul of the town. Traditionally, everything was constructed around the saha. It also marks the oldest area in Bint Jbeil, with old stone buildings, arches, and traditional houses made from brick roof tops.

In Bint Jbeil, the saha is used to organize all the major festivals, celebrations, and commemorations. Hassan Nasralla's famous speech in 2005 was delivered in the town saha. Every year in memory of the 2006 Israel War on Lebanon, Hizballah organizes a big *Mahrajan* (festival) to commemorate their 2006 victory.

We were scheduled to meet with vendors in the market, but considering how busy they were, it was difficult to sit and have a long, in-depth interview. They apologized and advised us to come back on non-market day. We continued to our promenade of the market. Walking from the lower end of the market upward, a visitor would find banks, fruit and vegetable stores, clothes stores, toy stores, home improvement supplies stores that sell tools and construction products, and other services. Reaching the end of the street, one could turn left and take the parallel street to the market. Similarly, here, there are shops on both sides of the street, starting with the fruit and vegetable stores, butcher shops, and other types of stores.

As in the market in Nabatieh, that in Souk Bint Jbeil consists of permanent stores, as well as temporary sheltered and un-sheltered stands with individual farmers and traders squatting behind their products, food baskets, and stalls. Entrance to the market from the north, south, east, and west is blocked to allow pedestrians to walk around freely. The temporary stands are set up on the main street with fixed permanent shops on each side. The market itself is organized in terms of commodities or products, but still you can sense that there is no particular division to the market. The temporary stands are all mixed, including household, clothes, shoes, toys, textiles, and other items. Occasionally, the stands selling household items or clothes are set up close to the fixed shops selling similar items. This was more visible in the fruit and fresh vegetable section, as they were set up near most of the permanent shops selling fresh produce.

In Bint Jbeil, compared to the other weekly markets (with the exception of Marjayoun and Hasbaya), the visible mix of Christian, Muslim, and Druz community members is evident. Druz community members and traders are in the market, wearing their traditional attire of "shirwel" and white turban. The women are scarfed with long white scarfs covering their head, mouth, and nose.

Even though shop owners were all happy to be back to their shops after almost four years, there wasn't a sense of excitement or even satisfaction when talking to shop owners. I couldn't really sense robust energy in the market. In an interview on August 27, 2011, with Ibrahim Bazzi, a toy store owner in Bint Jbeil, he spoke extensively on his experience in the market over the last 42 years. Traditionally, Ibrahim used to trade in clothes and shoes for women and men. In 2006, Ibrahim lost his store and all his merchandise. He said, "my loss was irreplaceable." He didn't have the means afterward to reopen his store. The monetary compensation for war-affected victims (taawidat) was not sufficient, and he didn't have the capital to start again. Instead, he reopened a small toy store, just outside the market. Ibrahim's story is very common among traders in Bint Jbeil. In another interview with a textile shop owner, he revealed that he lost more than 1.2 million dollars in the July war, and the compensation received barely covered 30% of his loss.

Ibrahim was born in Brazil and moved to Lebanon in the 1960s. He went back again to Brazil in 1978, just after the Israeli occupation of South Lebanon, and returned again in 1980 for family reasons. His mother was an only child and his brothers and sisters lived abroad. He felt a sense of obligation and close emotional attachment to his family and land.

When asked about Bint Jbeil Thursday Market, Ibrahim divided the history of Bint Jbeil and its market into five different periods. The first phase was prior to 1948, which he described as the most prosperous period for Bint Jbeil—its market and people. Trade took place predominantly with Palestine. People didn't even know Tyre on the coast, and rarely, if ever, visited Sidon or Beirut. The people's social, political, and economic relations were stronger with nearby Palestinian towns and villages. Farmers would go from Bint Jbeil to Acre and Haifa to buy and sell produce. Traders would move between South Lebanon and North of Palestine to trade with small ruminant, olive oil, crafts, cotton, and other traders.

The second phase was the period between 1948 and 1965. Most people in Lebanon see this as the golden period in the history of Lebanon, marked by independence, establishment of government, strengthening of the public sector, development of infrastructure, and expansion of the service sector. For Ibrahim and many others in South Lebanon, this period is marked by the establishment of the Maronite government, division of Lebanon into governates and cazas, and the transformation of the agricultural sector in the South to tobacco farms. People lived on

subsistence farming, subject to ikhtayein [large feudal land owners].[49] Farmers would borrow from one year to another to plant tobacco crops and sell it to the Régie.[50] Tobacco farming was and still is the farmers' main source of income in the Caza of Bint Jbeil, but not necessarily in Bint Jbeil the town.

The third phase is the period between 1965 and 1978, marked by political struggle, civil war, and Israeli occupation. According to Ibrahim, during this period, the Palestinians' presence in South Lebanon was extensive, the PLO was very strong, and money was pouring into the region in abundance. The market in Bint Jbeil, although cut off from its traditional role as a trade center with Palestine, was prosperous because there was a great deal of remittance and money dispensed to the PLO from the Gulf, and this translated into local trade. Furthermore, the civil war in Lebanon (which predominantly targeted Beirut and Mount Lebanon) also pushed people to leave the city and come back and re-settle in Bint Jbeil. During this period, one of the rising industries was the shoe industry, which reached its peak in the 1970s with more than 300 small shoe manufacturing shops employing more than 400 families in Bint Jbeil.

The fourth phase is the period between 1978 and 2000, marked by Israeli occupation of Lebanon and the establishment of the secrity zone. According to Ibrahim, the occupation period was a critical period in the history of Bint Jbeil. There was an embargo on Bint Jbeil and other towns and villages within the security zone. People lived in confinement with restrictions on their mobility. People required permits to move in and out of the security zone. Bribery and pay-offs were required daily, particularly for shop owners and traders selling and buying any type of commodity or product. Special licenses and permission were required and subject to arbitrary approval or denial by the South Lebanese Army. On the other hand, the economic cycle within the security zone was closed. Trade in goods and services was restricted to the towns and villages within the security zone, which led to the prosperity of certain families and households who were able to stay on, live, and work in Bint Jbeil. Furthermore, the occupation forces spent on an average 30 million dollars a month in Bint Jbeil, Marjayoun, Naqoura, and

[49] *Ikhtayein* refers to feudal lords in Arabic. Ikhtayein are well known families who acted as feudal lords during the Ottoman period. They owned the lands on which farmers worked and were responsible for maintaining a certail level of control over their constituents during the Ottoman rulership. To date, these families continue to reside within Lebanon political power and government.

[50] The Régie Libanaise des Tabacs et Tombacs is a public organization controlled by the Lebanese Ministry of Finance. Regie aims to manage the plantation, manufacturing, trade and transport of tobacco, Tunbac and its derivatives across the North, South and the Beqaa districts of Lebanon.

Jezzine to finance the presence of the Israeli Army and the South Lebanese Army in this region. In many ways, the economy of Bint Jbeil was more closely linked to the Israeli economy than it was to the Lebanese economy. According to Ibrahim, this is public knowledge, and he didn't need to discuss it in detail.

The fifth phase is after liberation and end of the Israeli occupation in 2000. Bint Jbeil, as the rest of South Lebanon, for the first time since 1978 opened up to towns and cities outside the security zone including Tyre, Sidon, Beirut, Mount Lebanon, Beqaa, and North Lebanon. Roads and infrastructure were expanded, transportation became easier, and trade and commerce extended to the outside. Economic links with the Lebanese economy started after almost 22 years of blockade and isolation. The occupation has left a huge void in the economy of the region. Bint Jbeil did not possess any agricultural or manufacturing capabilities; the infrastructure was weak; the population was low due to large waves of migration; employment opportunities were few; most small crafts, including the shoe industry, collapsed (I. Bazzi, personal communication, August 27, 2011). This provided few incentives for families and children to either come back or continue living in the area. On one hand, the end of occupation provided people with the freedom to move and live on their land; on the other hand, it created an economic void for the existing residents who lived through all these times. For Ibrahim and many other families in Bint Jbeil and people in South Lebanon, their economic assets are their children. "If I have a kid, I invest in his education. When he is 20 and at a productive age, I am forced to send him abroad because he cannot survive or find productive employment." This has been the cycle for more than 4 decades now (I. Bazzi, personal communication, August 27, 2011).

According to Ibrahim, "we got an incredible amount of assistance to the public sector (Lebanese public sector and Lebanese government), but we as citizens didn't see any progress or change." It does not trickle down to the people in terms of services or productive employment. "You cannot even find a manufacturing company in this area," he said. "You don't have access to water, electricity, or other public service. This might be the case throughout Lebanon, but its impact is more so in this area." According to Ibrahim, this region has seen extensive spending during and after the war, during and after occupation. "We hear of *moussaadet* [international aid and assistance], but we don't see a day, where we are comfortable in terms of electricity, water, economy, or job opportunity for a child" (I. Bazzi, personal communication, August 27, 2011).

According to Ibrahim, parents are obliged to send their children to study and work abroad: Africa, South America, Europe, and North America.

When Ibrahim was asked of his sense of belonging to the market and if it is more economic than social, his response was that “this is a dream that a person carries across generations. Thinking of the market in that sense, is like reminiscing about your childhood and continuing to dream of it.” For Ibrahim and many others, Souk Bint Jbeil is about heritage, culture, norms, and practices. “People are attached to Bint Jbeil because of the social and cultural tradition, more than economic,” he explained. Ibrahim gave the example of fasting in Ramadan. He said, “I am a secular person and not religious in any way; nonetheless, I fast because this is part of the tradition, norms, and practices of my parents and grandparents.” It is important to keep and maintain tradition.

In terms of the economic benefit of Thursday Market, Ibrahim said, “as residents and shop owners in Bint Jbeil, we don’t really benefit from Thursday Market, but it is important for us.” As for the temporary traders, he said,

> I cannot tell you what the owners of the temporary stands benefit from Thursday Market. We see many stand owners all around. Is it worth it for them to come and exhibit? As a trader myself, I don’t see the *ma bthroz majwitoun* [rendered benefit]. This is my perspective as a trader.

This is not the case of Rashad Saad, a local butcher in Bint Jbeil. On Thursdays he sells more than on any other day of the week. He depends on Thursday Market for most of his weekly sales. On Thursdays, people in Bint Jbeil and neighboring villages, such as Aitatroun and Ayta Shaab, come to the market to buy their household needs for the whole week. On Thursdays, people would buy raw meat to make *kibbeh nayeh*, a traditional south Lebanese dish made from mashed raw meat, bulgur, and a local mix of spices. Also, on market days, he serves BBQ meat, and people would come buy their meat, sit around the butcher shop, and have coffee or tea. This was observed with butchers in Nabatieh, as well. In the popular oral history of South Lebanon, the people of Bint Jbeil are known for carrying the tradition of kibbeh nayeh all the way to Detroit, Michigan, in the United States, where families were known to do kibbeh nayeh using a flat wooden surface to mash the meat, take out the veins, and make kibbeh nayeh— a tradition rarely carried on today with the modern invention of Moulinex, a french brand for automatic blenders aften used in Lebanon.

According to Ibrahim, Bint Jbeil does not economically depend on the Thursday Market. He believes that in a few years the dynamic of trade in the region will change and might shift to other more populated towns. One thing, however, is certain: Thursday Market will continue to exist because of what it symbolizes in terms of cultural heritage.

According to Ibrahim, over history, the market location and space have changed and transformed themselves. This is likely to continue. For example, when Thursday Market first started under the Ottomans, it was located at the lower end of the city at a crossroads. In the 1920s during the time of Moussa Sharara, the fixed market was built. It consisted of an alley with stores on each side. In the 1950s and 1960s, the fixed market went through another wave of reconstruction, extending the market to the lower end with additional shops on both sides. Later, in the 1980s, during the occupation, the Israelis built other sections of the market, mainly around what is referred to as the town saha. The weekly market in the 1950s was shifted from the lower part of the town to what has become as the permanent souk of Bint Jbeil now. According to Ibrahim, this space should have been left as an open space, allowing mobile vendors to set up their stands. This would have increased business circulation on Thursdays.

In 2006, the permanent market that was built in the 1950s was destroyed. According to Ibrahim any discussion on this period is a political discussion. The Municipality of Bint Jbeil invested 3 million dollars and created a lower temporary market for vendors. Then it invested another 6 million to rebuild the destroyed one. This took around 4 years. For Ibrahim and other traders,

> not a single trader, including myself, could afford to re-rent the space during the construction process. I am one of the traders who owned a cloth store and lost everything, and could not afford to re-rent the space from the municipality after the war. I could not afford to pay $400 a month, knowing I would not earn that.

Many traders switched trades, rented outside the city center, or tried to find other sources of income as they waited for the municipality to finish the reconstruction of the market, so the permanent shop owners could return to their shops.

According to Ibrahim, for economic life to continue in Bint Jbeil, employment opportunities should be made available for young people: “We need opportunities for youth because they are the source of economic life.” He said,

I am an old man, but young people go out every day, spend money, dress, eat out, smoke, and more. They work, earn money, and spend money in their community. They might borrow during the month, but at the end of the month there is a stable income generated from their salaries as employees or as businesses.

Instead, the people of Bint Jbeil have to rely on expats coming and visiting during the summer. He said, "if there are expats visiting, we work; if these people don't come, we don't work." This was also confirmed by vendors in other markets, such as Abbasieh, Shhour, and Joya.

For Ibrahim and many others, the struggle of living and working under occupation and the hardships they had to go through have left them at loss for words. They do not want to be reminded of the hardships, but they live with one wish and hope: Peace. According to Ibrahim, In this area, we lived 60 years of war. We grew up carrying our kids and homes on our back, moving from one town or country to another. Before anything, I wish my kids peace; Lebanon and the Middle East free of guns.

Ibrahim is a typical store owner and trader in Bint Jbeil. Similar hardships were also reflected in the other interviews with people in Bint Jbeil.

In an interview conducted on May 15, 2011, with Naji Mroueh, an owner of a fresh produce store in Bint Jbeil market, he spoke about his experience as fresh fruit and vegetable trader over the last 35 years. Naji said that after 2006, the economic situation in the Bint Jbeil region was very difficult. Sales decreased, and he had to shift from wholesale to retail with emphasis on good quality, yet lower prices. He said, "I like to make sure when a person comes into my shop, he likes my products and finds it distinguished." According to Naji, people judge shops by their appearance. People automatically assume that in a clean and appealing shop, with sorted and graded fresh fruits and vegetables, prices are higher. He said, "They are surprised to find that I offer my produce at a lower price than other shops in Bint Jbeil." He said when people go to other stores and realize that I offer a better quality, a more appealing setting, and lower price, they come back and become regular customers.

Naji buys most of his products from Sidon or Beirut wholesale fruit and vegetable market. It is all paid in cash, even though traders are willing to give him credit up to 100,000 USD based on his experience and reputation, and on his father's credit history in the market. Naji's father has been in the market for more than 50 years. He said, "most people in this industry may have left, but *ism bidalo ism* [the name still carries on]." People are familiar with

the person and are ready to provide you with products based on trust and past relationship. This was confirmed by Mohamad, another vegetable store owner and trader in Bint Jbeil, who also inherited the trade from his father and grandfather. He also buys from the wholesale markets in Sidon, Tyre, and Beirut and sells his produce in Bint Jbeil and has credit with traders based on "trust" and his name and reputation in the market.

As a fresh fruit and vegetable shop owner, Naji doesn't necessarily benefit from the Thursday Market of Bint Jbeil. Mondays, Wednesdays, and Saturdays are his best sales days. Thursdays are not as good as the three other days. He said, "actually on Thursdays I sell less than the other days." This differs from one shop owner to another. This was also confirmed by Mohamad, who saw Thursday as a *souk shaabi* [popular market], with lower prices and lower quality products that cater to the masses.

On market days, Mohamad, sells his leftover produce at discounted prices. For example, normally 1 kg of lemons is sold at 1,500 LL. On market days it is sold at 1,000 LL, which is almost 33% lower than the market price. Other products or produce could be sold at almost 50% below the market price. He emphasized the popular nature of the market and demand for lower quality and lower priced items. Mohamad saw Thursday Market as an opportunity to sell excess stock, as opposed to dumping it or wasting it.

As all shop owners on Thursdays, Naji, Mohamad, and Rashad pay extra charges for the space outside their shop. According to Rashad, each shop pays a different fee that varies between LL 5,000 and LL 10,000 per day; it depends on the shop, location, and other factors. The charges go to the municipality to pay for maintaining the market space and ensuring cleanliness within the shop parameters. This was confirmed by the other shop owners, including Jaafar, a textile trader and a hardware store owner in Bint Jbeil, as well as by other permanent shop owners in other markets.

According to Rashad, a butcher, the municipality also charges fees on the number of cattle butchered in a given week. Bint Jbeil has a local *Maslakh* [slaughter house] that can accommodate up to 200 head of cattle. They also have coolers with an on-duty veterinarian. The slaughter house is managed by the Municipality of Bint Jbeil. The veterinarian comes daily. His children are in the same profession. One of his sons also has an oven next to the butcher shop, where he makes *lahm bajein* [meat patties]. Like the others, Rashad also inherited the

trade from his father. There are around 70 butchers in the Bint Jbeil region, and each one *beykhoud rizekto* [makes his own wealth].

Like all shop owners, Naji lost his shop in 2006. It was completely destroyed. During the period of reconstruction (2006-2010), he was relocated to the temporary space set up by the municipality (see Figure 15). According to Naji, the relocation was not very practical. Many people stopped going to the market. The allocated space was small and was not well organized for either vendors or customers. Among the problems with the new layout was that there was no parking for cars, the stands were not organized according to commodity, and there were not enough choices and variety of products. This was confirmed by the other vendors and people interviewed in Bint Jbeil.

In 2010, Naji, as other shop owners, was given back his shop in the old market. He said, "The shop is now a little smaller. They designed arches outside and this reduced the space inside." This created limitations for all previous shop owners in terms of space for carrying produce and items. Before 2006, the market was made from old stones dating back to the 1920s. Prior to 1948, the borders with Palestine were open. Farmers and traders from Bint Jbeil would go down to Haifa and Acre to trade with olive oil, soap, cattle, sheep, goats, textiles, and other commodities. Traders from Palestine would travel to Bint Jbeil to buy and sell items. Bint Jbeil at that time was one of the oldest markets in South Lebanon. According to Naji and other fresh produce, textile, shoes and cattle traders in the region, their ancestors used to trade primarily with Palestine. According to Naji, his family used to trade in hay and cow feed, not fresh produce. It was rare to grow vegetables in the Bint Jbeil area, because there was no water. In a few areas, however, such as Maroun Ras, a small village just at the border, farmers used to plant wild herbs and sell them on Thursdays in Bint Jbeil. According to Naji, today, most of what is grown in the area is rain-fed crops, such as onions, radish, thyme, hibiscus, sumac, and other wild plants. Most people rely on trade, local crafts, and small manufacturing, as well as remittances from expat families living in the United States, Canada, Australia, and Germany. This was confirmed by Mohamad, another vegetable store owner in Bint Jbeil, who rarely bought from local producers and if he did, it was mostly rain-fed products, such as *baladi tomatoes* [organic tomatoes], *mekta* [wild cucumbers], and zucchini, which requires less water than other produce. According to both vegetable traders, there are only a handful of producers, and they are mostly

small-scale farmers. They come to Bint Jbeil with their vans and cars to sell their products to retail shops.

During the interview, Mohamad discussed the struggle of traders working under occupation. He spoke about the difference in the market during the occupation and after liberation. According to Mohamad, during the Israeli occupation, traders at large had difficulty transporting produce in and out of the security zone. They required permits and licenses to do so, and, in most cases, they had to adhere to bribes and payoffs to ensure entry into the security zone. The traders would work in pairs, with one brother working inside the security zone and another brother moving in and out to transport goods. There was always a shortage of items in the region even though the population was small. Produce and products were sold at a higher mark-up value. For Mohamad, the sales during this period were better than they are today. This is attributed to trade restrictions. Only a handful of traders were able to transport goods in and out of the security zone. Therefore, there was higher demand for selected items. Today, with the opening of villages to other towns, people who used to live in the security zone are free to move around. It takes less than an hour to get to any major city and around 2 hours to get to Beirut. There are more traders selling the same item. This has resulted in increased competition among traders and shop owners within Bint Jbeil. Naji's perception was different. In his interview he remarked that during the occupation, his sales were lower because the population in Bint Jbeil was less than 20% of what it should have been. Residents of Bint Jbeil at that time did not exceed 2,000 people, compared to the population of 50,000 people today. As such, the demand and sales for products and services were lower. Furthermore, the ratio of vendors to people was higher, and this might have explained why some vendors made more money under occupation.

All the vendors and people interviewed spoke about the role of Bint Jbeil in its trade with Palestine. The period prior to 1948 was considered the golden period for Bint Jbeil. This was further confirmed by all the interviews outside Bint Jbeil with traders and residents in South Lebanon. When speaking of Bint Jbeil historically, it was always in relation to its trade with Palestine and the importance of Bint Jbeil as a trade and market center in the region before the 1950s. All informants discussed the cultural importance of Bint Jbeil. They saw the market as part of their heritage, culture, and tradition. (N. Mroueh, personal communication, 2010; M. Bazzi, personal communication, 2010; R. Saad, personal communication, 2010)



Figure 16. Bint Jbeil Thursday Market relocated temporarily to this area down the road from the actual market, 2008. A. Bazzi (Photographer). Retreived from bintjbeil.org archives

CHAPTER 5

ANALYSIS OF FINDINGS

The history of markets in Lebanon, like elsewhere in the region or around the world, is associated with excess in production that required a place for its distribution. Based on this excess, internal exchange between various cities and towns has taken place from ancient times to today. Under the Ottoman Empire, trade provided a medium for the expansion of the Ottomans across the Mediterranean, the Balkans, and Eurasia, acting as a link between the West and the Middle East from the 15th century to the 19th century. Trading posts were set up across the Ottoman cities and towns for the trade of textiles, skins, crafts, spices, and other goods. The soap and olive oil of Nablus, textiles of Damascus, and silk of Mount Lebanon were traded at these trading posts. Additionally, the trading posts facilitated the trade of goods from distant towns and regions outside the Ottoman Empire, including the textiles of Manchester, England; silk garments of France; and spices of India.

The act of trade required places for exchange. Around these spaces, towns were formed and consequently came to be associated with their role as trade centers, as in the case of Nabatieh and Bint Jbeil. The choice of the market within a particular city, town, or village was associated with its geographic importance in terms of accessibility, resource availability (space and accommodations), favorable political environment (leadership, government, and state policy vis-à-vis markets), positive economic incentives (taxes, turnover in commodities traded, and other factors), social and cultural environment (community openness to strangers and hospitality), and security (peaceful and stable environment that would allow for easy mobility of people and traders).

Souk Nabatieh and Souk Bint Jbeil emerged between the 14th and 16th centuries and continue to play a pivotal role within the region. Despite 400 years of Ottoman rule, the establishment of national boundaries, independence, closure of borders with Palestine, 25 years of civil war in Lebanon, 30 years of Israeli occupation of South Lebanon, globalization, urbanization, increased competition, improved transportation, and unregulated structure, these markets continue to thrive. The fact that they are still there despite low economic return, limited impact, unregulated structure, lack of municipal interventions, increased competition, and improved transportation demonstrates how the role of social, cultural, political relations

associated with the market extends beyond the interplay of supply and demand and economic transactions.

Souk Nabatieh and Souk Bint Jbeil are examples of how the souks in South Lebanon are not autonomous, but embedded in social, political, and economic relations that have played a significant role in their existence and persistence. History, geography, social relations, political leadership, policy, and power play a critical role in their formation, growth, and sustainability. Their sustained existence over time is further driven by social and cultural factors, such as norms, values, and practices found within the marketplace; this perception is found among sociologists and political economists, and is shared by local municipal leaders, vendors, and other people who see these markets as economically inconsequential, but socially and culturally significant. Throughout history and over time, the weekly markets have reflected the social, political, and economic dynamic of the people and communities in which they were found.

At the historical level, the story of the weekly markets in South Lebanon has to be read along the lines of changes and development associated with the history of Lebanon starting with the Ottoman Period (1516-1914) and moving toward independence and state formation (1914-1975); civil war (1975-1990), and post-civil war (1990-today). Two milestones within this timeline have radically transformed the weekly markets in South Lebanon from important regional markets to local community markets: first, the establishment of the State of Israel (1948) and consequently the closure of border with Palestine, the Arab-Israeli conflict, and the Israeli occupation of Lebanon from 1978 to date; second, the Israel War on Lebanon in 2006 and its impact on towns and villages in South Lebanon, mainly in the case example of Bint Jbeil.

Within each of the different historical periods, specific events have contributed to the evolvement and transformation of the market over time in terms of structure, capacity, turnover, social dynamic, political dynamic, commercial and trade activity, and cultural dynamic. This is a perspective that is not only affirmed in the reading of the history of Lebanon by Lebanese historians and political, social, and economic analysts, such as Philip Hitti, Ghassan Saliba, Fawwaz Traboulsi, Antoine Abdel Nour, Ahmad Beydoun, Mustapha Bazzi, and others, but also shared by average vendors and people in their knowledge and experience of the market over time and as transmitted in the oral history of their families or personal experiences, as is the case with Ibrahim, Naji, Ahmad, and Rashad in Bint Jbeil; Khalil, Mohmad, and Abbas in Nabatieh; and others in Abbasieh, Bezourieh, Shhour, Srifa, and other towns and villages in South Lebanon. In

an interview with Mohamad Al Amin, a journalist and owner of a magazine called *Al Janoub* [*The South*], he spoke extensively on the importance of Souk Nabatieh and Bint Jbeil in the history of South Lebanon and their role over time. It is almost impossible to understand the weekly markets, particularly Bint Jbeil and Nabatieh, without tracing the history of Lebanon from the Ottoman period to date. Analysis of the status of the market at each period had to be deduced based on historical accounts of what took place at that time and its impact on the community as a whole and the towns in particular. Most of the information on weekly markets found within Lebanese literature is either documented in the history of the towns themselves or found in the stories and tales written by contemporary *ulama* [historians] from Jabal Amel, such as Moḥsen Amin (1867-1952), Muhammad Taleb Jaber Al Safa (1875-1945) and others.

At the geographic level, the space, structure, and accessibility to the weekly market has played a significant role in determining how functional and effective the market has been. Access to and from the market has been an important determinant in its flourishing over time as well as in its retraction due to border closure, lack of infrastructure, absence of water, and other resources associated with the development of these areas. How easily the people can access the market determines how often in a month the people visit the market. The space also influences the size of the market and its potential for growth, expansion, and popularity during a given period.

Traditionally the weekly market was established in a town that was often considered central to the towns and villages around it, as it included the Ottoman administrative offices, hospitals, post office, mosques, schools, and other cultural centers. Souk Nabatieh and Souk Bint Jbeil are both found on strategic routes with easy access to main and connecting routes, natural resources (river, forest, valley, and mountain) and amenities (water, electricity, asphalted roads, and inns), and within proximity to the Grand Serail established within different cities or towns. Over time and with the division of Lebanon into eight (8) Muhafazas and 26 cazas, these towns became the capital towns for the cazas and the Muhafazas, as the case with Nabatieh and Bint Jbeil. They continued to retain their importance vis-à-vis the other towns and villages as the administrative, economic, social, cultural, and religious centers for their respective Muhafazas. The market reflects the position of the town itself vis-à-vis the other towns and villages. The same applies to the markets established in the 1950s, such as Abbasieh and Bezourieh, which were considered important commercial towns that cater to the surrounding smaller villages.

Unlike Souk Nabatieh and Souk Bint Jbeil, however, their importance stems from the presence of local trading families known for their historical involvement with national or cross-border commercial exchange. With the proliferation of markets such as Nsar, Shhour, Bablieh, and Saksakieh in the 1990s, and such as Aytaroun and Aineta in the 2000s, the relationship between the major town markets and the surrounding villages continued to exist, but the villages were no longer economically and social dependent on the towns market as they had been in the past. In other words, the farmers and families from nearby villages do not have to wait for the Monday Market in Nabatieh and Thursday Market in Bint Jbeil to sell their excess produce or buy their household needs, visit family and friends, go to the local municipal office, or get their errands run as they did in the past. According to vendors, many of the villages have their own markets, and therefore their livelihood is no longer dependent on the larger villages. This relationship is likely to change even more in the future with demographic changes in the region (I. Bazzi, personal communication, August 27, 2011).

At the social level, the dynamic within the marketplace as well as the communities where these weekly markets came to be established evolved and changed over time; nonetheless, the market day, market time, market actors, market process, social values, norms, and practices associated with these markets remained the same. The weekly markets continue to be about social relations and social process. Both vendors and people interviewed emphasized how the market continues to provide an opportunity to mingle, interact, and socialize with others in the market. What changed is the impact of political shifts, globalization, expansion of communities, and opening of roads on the social and class dynamic within these markets. This is reflected in who stayed within the community and who left, who goes to the market today, what type of products they buy, how they buy them, why they buy them, and people's relationship with local authority. The weekly markets for most people in South Lebanon came to be considered as popular markets that cater to the average members of the working class. This is why it is often referred to as *souk al shaabi*. Products within these markets are considered lower grade and bought at bargain prices; nonetheless, the market is visited by people of all classes. You would find the rich, poor, intellectuals, the old, and the young there. Each visitor is prompted by different interests, such as price, bargain items, treasures, or even sentiment or tradition. Even though at the social level, the market is no longer accompanied by festivities and celebrations as it was in the past, people's lives and social interactions still revolve around the market and to

some extent around market day. The market for people is still about meeting family and friends, or taking a stroll in the market. Souk Nabatieh and Souk Bint Jbeil today for people are an extension of their memories, history, and social interactions in the past. The market represents what they have known, heard about, lived, or experienced over time. It is in the recollection of stories carried from their parents and grandparents.

At the political level, local leadership has played an important role in the institutionalization, and, consequently, the proliferation and expansion, of rural weekly markets in South Lebanon. In all the markets visited and observed, there is a story about how a specific leader or local municipality played a role in the establishment of markets. The weekly markets did not simply emerge as a result of the interplay of supply and demand or because two merchants happened to come through and establish their stands. The establishment of each market was prompted by a decision made by a community leader or a group of people within government or closely affiliated with government that has taken on the decision to establish or reconvene the market as a result of an informal economic, social, and political strategy to address economic gaps between center and periphery and between rural and urban centers in Lebanon. It is informal because there is no official formal decree or policy that came out of the IRFED study, Post-war, or Post-Liberation period that attests to the expansion of the weekly markets. The data on market proliferation and expansion are deduced from stories and statements mentioned by local residents, vendors, and municipal officials on how these markets started and evolved. It was further confirmed by secondary sources on or historical accounts of the Ottoman period and their interest in increasing trade and exchange across the Empire and with the West to finance its wars, the Lebanese Government policies under Fouad Chahab or the post-civil war period and the Lebanese Government strategy for promoting economic growth in the peripheries and/or reducing poverty gaps between the different governates. This is the case with the markets that expanded in the 16th century; the markets created during the independence period; the markets created in the 1990s, following the end of the civil war; or even the markets created following the end of occupation in 2000.

At the institutional level, the weekly markets are governed by the municipalities where they are hosted. The municipality is responsible for the logistic management of the market. This includes the allocation and distribution of permits, the provision of stands, space cleanliness, tax collection, and the management of disputes. On market day, the municipalities have their own

municipal police officers and security guards spread around the market entry points. They are responsible for market security, order, distribution of circulars, and collection of monthly or weekly rental fees. There are no national or regional government policies that regulate the market, either at the municipal level or at the governate level. The markets are established based on municipal approval without having to go back to the muhafiz. The market is managed and administered at the local level through a local committee. The committee is composed of members of the community as well as local advocates, vendors, and community members. The municipality decides on the number of stands granted permits, the location and distribution of the stands, border zone for the market, and entry and exits to the market. It also addresses issues, disputes, and claims for the space. According to all the vendors and municipal officials spoken to, if a stand owner doesn't attend three times consecutively, the municipality has the right to grant the stand to someone else. There are no contracts to either confirm or refute this claim. The stand owners do not pay an annual, seasonal, or even monthly fee to rent the stand. It is rented on a weekly basis based on who comes; nonetheless, traders and vendors who have traditionally rented a stand at the market have priority over others, in terms of space. This is governed by informal verbal contracts between the municipality and the vendor. Priority is given to old traders and their families who have been in the market for years or even generations, in the cases of Bint Jbeil and Nabatieh. Even though the municipality enjoys a certain freedom in the start-up, management, and operation of the market, their involvement has been limited to general supervision and logistics management, such as fees collection, granting of permits, resolving of disputes, and a few other areas.

The market is not seen as a source of income within most municipalities. Some municipal officials interviewed mentioned that the municipality loses money on market day because the cost of managing the logistics is higher than the rental fees gathered from the vendors. They don't see the economic value to the municipality. There are no other activities or initiatives organized around the market. Public spaces and squares within and around the market are not fully utilized to increase traffic or diversify the purpose of the visit to the market, even though the baydar, malab baladi, or town square were traditionally used by families as a public space during certain festivities or events. There are no urban development strategies to improve the utility of the space, as the case with malab baladi in Nabatieh, which is always empty on market day even though it falls within the heart of the weekly Monday Market. In all the

municipalities visited and among municipal officials spoken to, there are no discussions or strategies to build the local economy through the market by helping small businesses grow, preserving food safety, making the market more attractive destination for shoppers from within and outside town, promoting local produce, or even curbing or limiting the number of stands by foreigners. On the contrary, in Nabatieh, between 2011 and 2018, an increased number of permits were granted to out-of-town Syrian traders. In the visits to the market in 2016, there were many complaints by local vendors about the rise in number of Syrian stands competing with theirs. Furthermore, even though in the last 20 years, the weekly markets have mushroomed across South Lebanon, there has been no specific policy to regulate, curb, or space out the markets to ensure maximum utilization of market within specific cazas. For example, in addition to Monday Market in Nabatieh and Thursday Market in Bint Jbeil, more than 15 markets have emerged within towns located within each of the Caza of Nabatieh and Caza Bint Jbeil since 1990; examples of these include Ayta Shaab, Aytaroun, Deir Ntar, Shaqra, Nsar Nsar, Kfar Kila, and many others. For a full list of the markets surveyed refer to Appendix A Each of these municipalities encouraged market formation not only out of economic interest; analysis of the relationship between market supply and market demand; or even the relationships among commodity price, quantity and distance; but rather as a medium to create what they referred to as *harakeh* [social, cultural, and maybe economic activity within the town]. The vendors heavily rely on the summer and certain festivities, such as Ramadan, Eid, and Christmas to survive. Economic benefit might be at the base of their reasoning, but it is not the main reason for establishing or promoting the market. The market in itself is not central to the villages' local economic and community development. It is seen as something to do or an initiative copied from surrounding towns, with the assumption that it is a good idea to start one; nonetheless, when speaking with the local residents, the social and cultural importance of the market keeps emerging as central to their image and thinking of the weekly market.

In terms of government inspection, the markets are usually visited by the municipal police that check on vendors and transactions and ensure a sound and safe environment. Occasionally the municipality will inspect the products and check for validity and authenticity. This, however, is not a systematic function carried by the municipality. In all the markets visited this was observed only once, but confirmed by municipal officials in almost every town. In 2012, the Minister of Agriculture and Industry carried out a series of raids on warehouses,

distributors, hotels, restaurants, and markets (including weekly) around the country, uncovering tons of meat and other goods whose expiry dates had passed ("More spoiled fish seized in South Lebanon," 2012). In November 2014, the Minister of Public Heallth publicized a list of restaurants, supermarkets and other food provider services that did not meet the ministry's food regulation standards with some products testing positive for salmonella, E. coli, and obligate aerobes (El-Jardali, Hammoud, Kamleh, and Mey Jurdi, 2014). During this period, a number of raids were carried out to the weekly markets in South Lebnaon that resulted in the confiscation of a wide range of food products and prohibited vendors from selling staple foods and other edible items that can be compromised in the sun. This was the only time such actions were observed in weekly markets, even though food safety is a major issue in Lebanon. Most of it is concentrated in capital Beirut and other major towns and focuses on food and beverage industry and service providers, such as chain restaurants.

The market not only serves as a center for the exchange of goods and services, but also provides a fertile venue for political and community organizing. This is reflected in the history of South Lebanon, particularly under the Ottomans; the rise of resistance movements against the Turks and later the colonial forces of the British and the French in Palestine, Lebanon, and Syria through the early 1900s; and later the Arab-Israeli conflict in the 1940s and onward. In the literature on Lebanon, there are many examples in which the souk has provided space for people (merchants, traders, leaders, and residents) of various ethnicities and groups (Palestinians, Syrians, Lebanese, and sometimes Egyptians) to convene, gather, and exchange not only goods and services but also information, thoughts, ideas, opinions, and concerns. It has provided a medium for communicating yesterday's happenings, today's events, and tomorrow's promises. If someone weds his son or daughter, he would be congratulated in the marketplace. If the governor made a statement or met with key officials, people would exchange the latest of his sayings during market day. If someone wants to hold a meeting for neighborhood residents to discuss the problem with the water supply, damage to the electric route, or any other public issues, messages, stories, and information would be transmitted during market day (Mazraani, 1999). The market was the perfect place and time to promote a call to action as well as rally people for political objectives. The fact that the market depends on the informal communication process means what does not get transmitted through the normal, formal channels is often transmitted through the marketplace. For example, during the mandate, people were fed up with

the French so that one day the people woke up and on the walls of the markets in Nabatieh there were press releases and flyers eliciting the people of Jabal Amel to rise against the French army (Al Safa, 1959, p. 225). When Jamal Abdel Nasser came to power and made his call for Arab nationalism, the market was the place where news was shared and from which it was spread to other places, particularly because not all villages were either connected to television or radio or had much contact with the cities from which the news came. In 2000, Bint Jbeil market was the place where Hassan Nassrallah delivered his famous speech following the end of occupation; the same in 2005, in his speech on "House of Spiders," and again in 2006, during the victory rally following the end of Israel War on Lebanon. It is within the market that the advocacy for change was carried out and the call for action was spread.

The market also provided a haven for people to gather and meet safely. On the day of the market with the presence of dozens of merchants and perhaps hundreds or even thousands of people coming to visit the market, mobility for organizers, revolutionaries, resistance people, or activists was made possible. The market provided a meeting point for party and resistance leaders to convene and a venue to get organized. During the Ottoman period, it was the perfect opportunity for the heads of families and communities to visit from Palestine, Syria, and other parts of Lebanon (Bazzi, 2002). In people's homes, underground, in the cellars or the basements, militants would gather to plan and organize. They would hold meetings, discussing strategies, ideas, and ways to launch their acts of resistance. Similar acts were also carried out during the French Mandate period.

In addition to providing a safe meeting place, the market's centrality to the culture of South Lebanon is shown in its serving as a headquarters for resistance and a site of revolt. The marketplace provides the perfect cover because with so many people around, going in and out, it becomes easier for militants to move around and consequently meet with little suspicion. Consequently, the market has facilitated political activism and mobility for militants. In the presence of hundreds of merchants, families, men, and women coming to visit the market, militants, revolutionaries, and activists were able to move around more easily as well as facilitate the transport and shift of equipment and material. With so many people around, gathered during the day, it becomes easier to circulate in the crowd, inconspicuous and without the scrutiny of the authorities. It is difficult to discern faces and visibly manage the whole crowd on this day. For example, during the Ottoman period, militants in the south would organize their revolts against

the Ottoman policies in terms of taxes or other issues around market days. During the market day, people from all over the region, including North Galilee, Houla Lake, and coastal areas, would come to the market. Militants "across the borders" would gather on this day, meet, plan, and organize their action. During the farmers' revolt in the 19th century and nationalist revolt against the French Mandate, national militants could move around more easily during market days (Bazzi, 2002, p. 553). It is because of these gatherings that leaders such as Daher Al Omar came to be supported or people came to revolt against Ibrahim Basha, Ahmad Basha Al Jazzar, and others. In 2011, with the wave of suicide bomb attacks in Lebanon as a result of the Syrian Crises, movement in and out of the Markets of Nabatieh and Bint Jbeil became more intense with extensive search and ID control (Personal observations and field visits, 2011-2014). Within the market space, physical and symbolic acts of resistance are carried out. The market becomes the perfect space to plan and execute an act of resistance as the target, even though shaded by the crowd, is easily identified and more accessible as the soldiers are less guarded and often taken by surprise. Furthermore, the market provides the financial and human resources to mount resistance movements under the eye of the occupying forces. For example, in the 1900s, Souk of Bint Jbeil was known for weapon trade, with specific families controlling the merchandising of weapons.

Furthermore, the markets and what was traded within these markets in terms of commodities, goods, and services reflected the success of the resistance movement at a point in time. At different levels, certain commodities within the market—particularly food merchandised—also reflected certain eras or changes in the movements. For example, there was a sweet known as Faysalieh that took its name from the King Faysal's intervention in the early 19th century between the Lebanese, and this became a trademark of this period and era (N. Ajami, personal communication, July 8, 2010). In the 2006 Israel War on Lebanon, vendors, expressing their approval of the victory of Hizballah over Israel, labeled their products with the names of the surface-to-surface rockets, truck-mounted launchers, and shore-to-ship missiles launched against the Israelis that incurred the biggest damage to affirm the community's power to stand in resistance of Israel. Examples of this phenomenon included calling merchandise or products such as variety of dates, or variety of dishes by names such as Khaibar, Raad, Fajr, Zelzal, and Noor. This is an example in which merchandising of commodities becomes linked to specific content or discontent with current events. The market of Bint Jbeil is a case example

that reflects both forms of resistance made evident in the process of communicating, planning, executing, celebrating, and marketing resistance in the marketplace; it highlights the market as space to communicate future or current acts of resistance, a place where people would meet to plan and organize around specific issues, a place in which the success and failures of acts of resistance are celebrated, and a space in which certain commodities take on symbolic or real expressions of acts of resistance. The conditions for making this possible include history and identity of the market space as well as the geographic and political-economic factors that make markets spaces for resistance at the local, regional, and global levels.

At the economic level, the weekly markets in South Lebanon no longer carry the same economic impact and benefit for the communities as they did in the past. The trade networks, commercial exchanges, type of commodities traded, turnover in products, value of sales, and trade opportunities have gradually diminished over time, even though the population has increased. This is not to say that the markets do not render any economic benefit, but it is limited to few traders and families involved in the market with little economic benefit to the municipality or even the local economy at large. The weekly markets continue to fall under the informal economy. The economy of South Lebanon continues to rely on agriculture; trade; international aid; and remittances from Africa, the Gulf, South America, and North America. The weekly markets of Nabatieh and Bint Jbeil—although they fall within an overall open, competitive, and service-based national economy—are viewed by local leaders (former mayors, mayors, municipal council members, and others) as secondary markets that serve the social and cultural interest of the people. They are not seen as economic entities that could be developed, expanded, or improved to play a greater economic role in agriculture, industry, or service, particularly in a service-driven economy. There are no policies, actions, or strategies by the local or even national leaders to better use these markets for local community economic development. For example, even though communities (towns and villages) elsewhere in Lebanon have created weekly markets built around festivals and annual events to promote tourism for their communities, Nabatieh, Bint Jbeil, and the rest of the south continue to lack such integrated plans. The markets are clearly missing development opportunities that could encourage tourism; and if Lebanon does capitalize on such opportunities, the benefits are often limited to South Lebanese tourism as well as expats visiting families during the summer. For example, in all the markets visited, there was a complete disregard for national monuments, artifacts, and other

national heritage sites that could act as sources of attraction to people living in urban centers or even visiting foreigners. These sites were not in any way integrated into the structure of the market, nor were they promoted. They remain closed off to the general public, and there are no signs that would allow visitors from outside the city to learn about them. Even local residents, including students, are not aware of these sites, their cultural importance, and their power as national assets. Furthermore, neither Souk Nabatieh nor Souk Bint Jbeil is part of the ecotourism plan or projects for the EC, USAID, or other agencies. This is directly linked to the lack of tourism strategy for South Lebanon due to security reasons, isolation by and of political leaders of South Lebanon (mainly municipalities associated with Hizballah), and the absence of interest by national and regional government to promote these villages as tourism sites. In the case of Bint Jbeil, its location deep inside South Lebanon and the need for a security permit by foreigners limits the opportunity to build tourism strategies around it. In the case of Nabatieh and the other markets, they are accessible, but there is no strategy to promote them for tourism and the municipalities do not see this as a priority. Furthermore, Lebanon's national tourism strategy focuses on and promotes Mount Lebanon and North Lebanon, with the inclusion of some of the big cities in the south, such as Tyre, Sidon, and Jezzine. There is limited or no interest by the national government to promote the South due to security reasons. This has created limited opportunities for these markets to expand and to take a more prominent role in the national tourism strategy for the Lebanese government.

Changing how the community as a whole sees the market (people, vendors, and leaders) provides an opportunity to develop community strategies to use these weekly markets as venues for local economic development. This includes organizing social, economic, and cultural activities around and within the market; increasing access by improving circulation; providing access to vulnerable people, such as older people, people with disabilities, women, and children; promoting the sale of locally produced goods; and encouraging a barter system between and among merchants, buyers, and others. To increase awareness of these markets at the national level, the municipalities should work collaboratively with the national government to promote these towns as tourism sites. Most importantly, the local leadership should be open to receiving and accommodating urban residents, foreigners, and others interested in knowing and learning about these communities. On the other hand, one cannot help but ask: If these markets have managed to survive for this long, couldn't altering the image of these markets result in critical

changes in their socioeconomic dynamic? In 50 years, will these markets still look the same and retain their organic evolutionary change? Perhaps. It is important, however, to recognize that markets in all cases will undergo a certain evolution. Monday Market and Thursday Market definitely did. The change came organically as a reflection of the socioeconomic and political situation in the region. This is bound to happen; nonetheless, by linking the weekly market to the economy of Lebanon, there could be an opportunity for these markets to change from peripherial markets that have lost their purpose—what they initially used to stand for a few centuries or even decades before. Markets have a function, the social is one aspect of it, but the economic is critical for the economic, social, and political well-being of people in the community at large.

Today in the urban centers, such as Beirut, everyone is talking about the relationship between food sovereignty and nature, urban and digitial commons, social solidarity economy, solidarity networks and finance. Venture capital, business incubators, and accelerators for digital and non-digital start-up businesses have become the new trend. What is quite interesting is that the rural communities in Lebanon, including the rural weekly markets, are outside this economic discourse.

Souk Nabatieh and Souk Bint Jbeil have emerged in market communities that share their emphasis on trade and exchange. There might be no need for preservation as they are naturally preserved, but there is a need to expand the economic opportunity of these communities so these communities can continue to exist and survive with economic dignity that can only arise through labor opportunities for the new generation.

CHAPTER 6

CONTRIBUTION TO THEORY

The sixth chapter offers contribution to the theory. From the case and case examples presented, it will be argued how best we can understand the market and how the case study contributes to better framing of the market in a traditional society that continues to exist despite globalization.

Traditionally, markets were places of exchange found within ancient market settings located within traditional, folk-based, and sacred communities that were geographically and historically bound by social relations and affected by cultural and political factors. With the birth of the Industrial Revolution, opening of markets abroad, and transformation of cities such as London into industrial zones, the market became synonymous with capitalist market economy associated with the Industrial Revolution, the establishment of the state system, and consequently the expansion of urbanization and bureaucratization within society. It is exemplified by the transformation from a single market to multiple markets with an elaborate system, network, process, and relations accelerated by technological and natural changes. The system is best characterized by money market, elaborate credit system, organizational and institutional development, state formation, and government regulation.

Lebanon is a case example, whereby its weekly markets do not strictly fit into a specific theoretical frame; rather, evaluating its markets requires an amalgam of different explanations and understandings of markets. They do not necessarily belong to the market economy because they are rooted in Gesellschaft-type communities, nor do they reflect reciprocal or household-based economy often associated with traditional societies, as they act as dispensers for cheap manufacturing products; nonetheless, they exist within a market economy, functioning parallel to it, but at the same time stand alone, as historical, geographic, social, and cultural factors in the study of markets have something to contribute to their understanding.

According to classic economic definitions, the economic conditions in rural South Lebanon are not conducive for these markets. There is no reason why these markets should continue to exist or should in fact proliferate given the opening of the rural towns in South Lebanon to urban centers, the improvement in transportation and road infrastructure, weak trade networks, limited demand for certain commodities and products, and the absence of specialized goods; nonetheless, the sustained existence and growth of these markets exemplify the

importance of historical, geographic, social, cultural, and political factors when studying markets.

The rural weekly markets in South Lebanon are physical spaces where people gather to exchange, buy, and sell using cash or credit. When we refer to Souk Tanein in Nabatieh and Souk Khamis in Bint Jbeil, this invokes a whole series of images and sensations associated with the communities of Nabatieh and Bint Jbeil and the nature of the weekly market in these communities. They are quite distinct from the old souks of Sidon, Tyre, Tripoli, or even Byblos located along the coast, in urban or semi-urban towns or cities, fixed or permanent, khan or bazaar-like that resemble the souks or bazaars in Damascus, Istanbul (Grand Bazaar), Cairo (Khan El Khalil), or Damascus (Souk Hamadieh) established between the 14th and 16th centuries. They do not resemble aswak (Arabic plural for souk) in Beirut, a modern high-end mall-style market created to replace the pre-war popular markets of spices, shoes, jewelry, and other goods in Central Beirut or the farmers markets created in urban cities such as Souk el Tayeb[51] and Earth Market[52] in Beirut. They are just as old as the souks or bazaars mentioned earlier, but have a whole different social, political, and economic dynamic that is associated with, but not quite like weekly or periodic markets in the region.

These markets neither subscribe to the classical economic approach to market, nor do they fully adhere to a single sociopolitical approach for looking at the market. They do not fully belong to the market economy, yet they have strong elements of the capital market economy, particularly when it comes to commodities traded, competition in the marketplace, and the transaction or exchange process which is money- and credit-based. At the same time, they cannot be analyzed using a single social, political, or cultural theory, because all these factors combined contribute to their existence, define their characteristics, and account for their

[51] The literal translation of *Souk el Tayeb* is the *good market*—as in, good in taste and character. Souk el Tayeb is an open air, weekly farmers market held every Saturday and Wednesday in Downtown Beirut and Gefinor Hamra. It was created in 2004 by Kamal Mouzawak (with support from donors) with the intent of creating a souk with the same vibrant energies of traditional souk but featuring the products of small farmers who bring to the market their knowledge (Laidler-Kylander & Simonin, 2012; Souk el Tayeb, 2018).

[52] The Beirut Earth Market was developed in 2012 as part of the ROSS program (Reconstruction, Employment, Services and Development) of Italian Cooperation, Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The project is co-financed by the Tuscany Regional Authority and is run by the NGO UCODEP in collaboration with Slow Food Beirut and the Slow Food Foundation for Biodiversity. Held every Tuesday from 9:00 a.m. to 2:00 p.m., the Beirut Earth Market provides a new outlet for 15 small-scale farmers and producers from the city's surrounding region; reliable access to quality food for consumers; and a social space for people to meet, and where they can rediscover the distinctive features of their regional cultural identity (Slow Food Foundation for Biodiversity, 2018).

continuity. They might be “tiny dots” scattered all over the place as described by Braudel, but they are not simple places of exchange, governed by householding economic process as described by Polanyi (1944), dealing with the trading of a surplus of self-produced goods and services.

This prompts the question of how best we can understand these markets. The weekly markets in South Lebanon fall somewhere in between primitive economy and market economy as defined by Polanyi’s (1944) householding, reciprocity, and redistributive economic models; Wallerstein’s (1974) world empire, world system, and mini system model; Braudel’s (1979) exchange market and world economy model; Christaller and Losch’s central place theory on markets, regions, and belts; and Zelizer’s (1988) boundless, subordinate, and multiple market model.

South Lebanon’s weekly markets subscribe to all elements associated with Tonnies’ (1957) Gesellschaft communities, Redfield’s (1960) folk societies, and Becker’s (1950) sacred societies. These markets have not made the full leap toward Gemeinschaft, urban, secular-based communities, but include elements and traces of it in their social relations and structure. Using Tonnies’ (1957) paradigm of Gesellschaft versus Gemeinschaft, Redfield’s (1960) definition of “folk” versus “urban” society, and Becker’s (1950) description of “sacred” versus “secular” society, these markets were formed in pre-industrial villages, predominantly agricultural-based and found within developed or underdeveloped traditional societies. They emerged as a result of geopolitical distribution of families during the Ottoman period within communities that are built around kinship, blood relations, and religious and social norms that are commonly found within the community of South Lebanon at large and the towns of Nabatieh and Bint Jbeil in particular.

People gathered in these markets are characterized by mutual interdependence, reciprocity, binding obligation and sentiment, homogeneity, tradition, customs, and norms. Historically, they might have been isolated; illiterate; and homogenous; with fixation on habit and emphasis on ritual; with limited motivation for reflection, criticism, or experimentation; yet with a strong sense of solidarity characterized by simple technology and division of labor (Tonnies, 1957; Becker, 1950; Redfield, 1960). Today, however, they do not necessarily subscribe to all these characteristics often associated with primitive, folk, or sacred societies as you can easily see within the community elements of the Gesellschaft, urban, and secular societies found in the industrial urban setting. This is attributed to the opening and expansion of

towns with increased access to resources and change in social relations attributed to this expansion.

The historical context and geographic location of the rural weekly markets in South Lebanon constitute the basis as to why these markets came to exist in the first place; what relation they have to their surroundings; how these town locations expanded over time to become central to the caza and governate as described by Losch (1938), Christaller (1933), and Skinner (1963); what purpose these markets serve historically; and how the choice of location has been built on previous knowledge of the importance of strategic positioning, and access to routes and localities within towns as exemplified by Fogg (1939) and Mikesell (1958) in their writing on Morocco. This is also confirmed by South Lebanese historians whose references to Nabatieh and Bint Jbeil markets are associated with the geographic advantage and position of the towns along trade routes between Palestine, Syria, and the Hijaz region.

The weekly markets trace their history back to a specific time and event that shaped their formation, marked their recognition, and underlined the type of commodities and services they traded in the market. The location of the market, the geographic and spatial elements of the market, the significance of the town or village to the region, and the role of the town in relation to its surrounding all influence the market dynamics (Fogg, 1939). For example, weekly markets are often located at crossroads within spaces that connect different regions and communities together, therefore facilitating access to markets by diverse communities meeting within this market space. Why the choice of this town or that or this village route or another is often associated with natural resources and territorial facility acting as an asset for these markets. The routes and paths upon which they emerged and the places in which they came to be formed are determined by reasons such as transportation, accessibility, water, and amenities.

The transformation and evolution of these markets as described by Polanyi (1944), Hann and Hart (2009), and Tandy (1997) is rooted in the structure and characteristics of societies in which they have been embedded. One cannot detangle markets from power considerations, nor can one disassociate class, race, ethnicities, gender, or any other social attribute from economic consideration (Lie, 1997; Guillén, 2003).

The geographic distribution of the market corresponds to an economic purpose that served the Ottomans between the 16th and 18th centuries, as described by Suraiya Faroqhi (2006), and responded to the demand and supply of the people within these communities, as described by

Christaller (1933) in his analysis of economic centers. Furthermore, the geographic location of the market is an important determinant of the dynamics and social relations within it, in terms of who is gathered (ethnicities, religions, communities, tribes, and groups) and the nature of what is exchanged or traded within the market.

The rural weekly markets in Lebanon exemplify the relationship between core and periphery with the world system perspective as explored by Wallerstein (1974). If we look at them as simple marketplaces that exist spontaneously, constituting an insignificant market return except for the network of traders associated with them, we are forgoing a whole political, social, and historical dynamic associated with periphery versus core at the national as well as international level. The fact that they exist in communities that have been on the periphery of Lebanese social, political, and economic structure for decades, located in rural areas that have been the site of revitalization policy, and continue to exist within regions that are constantly subject to political instability and destruction only affirms their importance for the political and economic wellbeing of the core. These markets are necessary for the political stability and economic operation of the core (i.e., Beirut and Mount Lebanon). The role of the market in this context cannot be simply assessed in terms of its economic return or value to the core, but in terms of the sociopolitical context and the geopolitical balance it brings to the core.

The rural weekly markets in Lebanon fit within the economic discourse on periodic markets as they are linked by the flow of people and commodities found within the market (Mintz, 1959; Bromley, 1975). They are classified according to size, volume of commercial activity, number of participants, specialization in particular products, role in commodity movements, or the socioeconomic groups which frequent them. Similar to R. J. Bromley and Richard Symanski’s (1974) description, market participants can be classified by age, sex, race, social class, area of origin, and dress, or they can be grouped by the scale of their commercial operations, types of transaction or of merchandise they are buying and selling, and frequency with which they trade in one or more markets or other trading institutions. At the same time, it is quite difficult to look at them using periodic market analysis, as most of the cases explored in the literature are located in Africa and/or Asia; they are commodity-based periodic markets dealing mainly with wholesaling and to a lesser degree retailing: part of a complex network of traders, wholesalers, and retailers that are part of a wider network of markets located within the region, which is not the case in Nabatieh and Bint Jbeil. Unlike the periodic markets in Africa, the

weekly markets in South Lebanon do not deal with commodity items, such as cotton, corn, coffee, or other staple goods. They are not wholesale markets for the distribution of commodities. They do not represent central commercial spaces for exchange or reciprocity. Unlike the periodic markets in Asia, such as those in China, Taiwan, or the Philippines, they do not deal with mass production of processed goods. They are not large, extended commercial market spaces where all sorts of goods and services are traded. They are not linked to the production and competitive capacities of the communities or districts where they are found. Trade relations are not central to their understanding. The weekly markets in South Lebanon could have shared at one point in time—specifically, prior to Independence, the establishment of the state of Israel and closure of the borders—many of the characteristics of these markets in terms of commodity trading or traders' networks, but this is not the case today.

If I want to take it a step further and look at the case of periodic markets in urban cities or farmers markets in North America or even Lebanon (Beirut specifically), the weekly markets in South Lebanon do not necessarily fit within the discourse on farmers markets and sustainable development. Unlike the periodic or seasonal markets in urban cities, the weekly markets in South Lebanon do not solely deal with high-end artisanal items; farm produce; or home-processed organic items, such as jam, pickles, or spices. These markets are not created within the context of bringing the rural to the urban. Unlike farmers markets, they are not about sustainable development and ecological preservation. These markets are not a reflection of the discourse on food security. Farm produce and household processed goods are marginal to the market activity, constituting a very small aspect of their commercial exchanges, and if you come across an artisanal production there, it is often a novelty, even though these towns were known for centuries for their traditional craftsmanship, such as shoe making, ceramic and pottery making, olive oil manufacturing, and soap making.

The rural weekly markets in South Lebanon subscribe to the discourse on state intervention versus state non-intervention but remain outside the monetary system associated with the Lebanese economy. In other words, it is not the state that is involved in the creation and management of the market, but certain political leadership or other prominent individuals within the community with funding and support from international agencies involved in the start-up of the market. In terms of regulations, these markets stay out of the tax system, unless traders are registered with the Ministry of Finance or Chambers of Commerce and this is unlikely. They

remain outside the monetary system in terms of bank accounts, credit lines, savings accounts, and money markets, unless the individual seller or buyer has a personal account used for savings, deposits, or credit. They deal with a cash-based economy, and if they borrow, they borrow from a wholesaler payable in installments depending on the turnover in products; nonetheless, the trader and the products they buy and sell are part of the capital market economy and are often associated with products produced outside the country, sold within the market at 15% to 30% lower than the shop next door. Souk Nabatieh and Souk Bint Jbeil are both case examples where the state has played a very minor role in the establishment and the management of the souk. These markets continue to exist regardless of supply and demand factors and regardless of Neil Fligstein's argument that markets can "only work" (as in grow or expand) when political and social conditions provide the stability to encourage investment for markets to become "self-reproducing" structures (Guillén, 2003, p. 507).

The rural weekly markets in South Lebanon are about people, social relations, and social process, as emphasized by Durkheim and confirmed by Polanyi's concept of embeddedness—and not simple gatherings aimed at the exchange of goods. People gather in the market because of the tradition as well as the social norms, values, culture, and practices associated with visiting markets. This includes acts such as talking or seeing their neighbors and friends; meeting and knowing the traders; the opportunity to rummage and negotiate for specific commodities; the ritual and consistency in meeting; and mental, psychological, and cultural symbols and meanings associated with these spaces. So, the mere mention of the Souk Tanein in Nabatieh or Souk Khamis in Bint Jbeil evokes in the people of South Lebanon a series of images and sensations associated with the place and the people involved.

The rural weekly markets in South Lebanon are linked to identity, political situation, power, resistance, and freedom. They are part of a regional and national conflict that has persisted for more than 75 years. The market location in South Lebanon, right on the border with Israel, and with a long tradition of trading history with Palestinian cities prior to the closure of the borders in 1948, has a lot to do with the sustained existence and proliferation of these markets as the market became a symbol of people's identity and history. During the Ottoman period, this relationship was evident as traders, pilgrims, and others moved back and forth among Acre, Haifa, and Damascus, passing through these markets as opposed to the coastal ones. After 1948, this left many of the towns and villages cut off from their southern neighbors and from the

rest of Lebanon, as historic links and route passages were weak to begin with. This was amplified by the economic and political conditions and by the high level of despotism within the region through the years.

In many ways, the persistence of the weekly markets at the time of occupation fits within James Scott's (1990) and Asef Bayat's (2010) discussion on "infra politics" and "hidden transcripts," which they describe as a form of "everyday resistance." It is the "aggregation of thousands upon thousands of 'petty' acts of resistance with dramatic economic and political effects" (Bayat, 2010, p. xx). This is exemplified in the creation of trading system within families living inside or outside the security zone, assumed trade functions by mothers in the absence of her children for security reasons, and adhering to bribery and payoffs without direct collaboration with the enemy. It is found and practiced in what is referred to as the "hidden transcripts, a set of low-profile actions aimed at minimizing appropriation" (Amoore, 2005, p. 69). The weekly market is a place in which these actions are played out and in fact could be itself an example of infra-politics as an act of dissent against the general political frame as that played out by warriors in Tandy's book *Warriors into Traders*. For Hesiod, the war hero, the market became a place for voicing his disagreement with and rejection of the social reality. By taking his household products out to the marketplace, he was turning from warrior into trader (Tandy, 1997). In Nabatieh and Bint Jbeil or even the south at large, the shift from warriors to traders is almost a given status attributed to the region history living under occupation. You cannot go out and simply ask vendors if they have been or continue to be part of the resistance movement, but it is almost innately given that each of these traders has fought against the occupation at a certain point in time.

People in the marketplace can be classified as buyers and sellers, with many participants that both buy and sell in the same marketplace; therefore, it is useful to distinguish between producers' intermediaries, consumers, and persons fulfilling a combination of two or more of these roles. A sub-category of retailers is petty traders, who buy from other traders at retail prices and resell items in very small units—an example being street hawkers who buy cigarettes by the packet and retail them individually. Many market traders are assisted by family members; a few work in partnerships or employ assistants. In addition, there are specialized personnel who work in the market, such as barrow-boys, porters, rubbish collectors, municipal police, public health inspectors, and tax collectors. Since the marketplace is a major interaction node for

distinct social, economic, occupational, and ethnic groups living in the market center and its surrounding hinterland, market participants may be classified by age, sex, race, social class, area of origin, and dress. They can also be grouped by the scale of their commercial operations, types of transaction or of merchandise they are buying and selling, and frequency with which they trade in one or more markets or other trading institutions.

The rural weekly markets in South Lebanon are part of an institutional policy and strategy, but do not belong to the institutional discourse and corporate system associated with the market economy. A person must use the trade institutional model of the 14^{th} to 18^{th} centuries to understand the organizational dynamic of these markets as opposed to the corporate model found within the capital world economy. Issues such as corporate management, governance, and board of directors often found within the literature does not apply to these markets, yet elements such as registration, permits, management of space, inspection, fines, and management of disputes have to be considered. As Hann and Hart (2009) indicated, in stateless societies markets were usually kept marginal and subject to regulation by the agents of dominant social institutions. What is quite interesting, however, is that in these markets both institutional and human factors are of equal importance (Polanyi, 1944; Tandy, 1997). Even though the markets in South Lebanon are institutionalized and, therefore, are subject to power and political decisions that formed them, they remain outside the institutional models applicable to industrial, global, and financial markets.

The rural weekly markets in South Lebanon should by all means and explanations have disappeared as underlined by Braudel (1997), but instead they have proliferated in spite of the security situation, political instability, opening of towns and villages, improvement in transportation system, and increased access to urban centers. Over the past 100 years, these markets have mushroomed, growing in number and size from a handful to more than 2 dozen, and the explanation for this is more historical, social, cultural, and political than the economic forces of supply and demand and competitive price setting with or without state intervention.

Most importantly, each market has its own story that is historically, socially, and politically rooted. It exists because of the communities in which it is found and the collective stories of people within it. It is marked by a unique dynamic that is particular to that market itself. Its historical role cannot be isolated from the people’s sense of identity and relationship to the market. You cannot start a conversation on the Souk Tanein and Souk Khamis without going

back more than 60 years in time, to times and days when the state of Israel did not exist, where people and merchants were free to move around, where the south Lebanese economy was linked to Haifa or Acre in Palestine. When trying to pull people to the present, the market becomes all about tradition, norms, and practices rooted in their weekly routine visit to the market. The market is about cheap bargain products found at discounted prices. The market is about people, neighbors, and friends meeting on market day. At the political level, the market exemplifies the people's struggle. They see the market as a renewal of their identity as South Lebanese.

You would imagine, in such a case, the communities would try their best to use the market as a tool for improving their livelihood, but in fact they are caught up in dilemma faced by the rest of the world experiencing globalization. As the modern world struggles to fight globalization and denounce its impact at the local level, communities in these regions try to catch up by globalizing their communities and their daily lives to be part of the modern world. As the modern world tries to create a new market by going back to small, local, and organic, communities such as Nabatieh and Bint Jbeil try to catch up with the rest of the world, but at the same time struggle to maintain their identity through the market. On one side, the market has globalized its merchandise, but it has not been able to completely globalize its economic, social, and cultural relations. It still operates on demand and supply, which is the ultimate force in what is bought and sold on the market, but at the same time, the social, political, and religious identity of the people determines the kind of commodities sold, type of transactions taking place, lack of contractual agreements, and many other factors that are given in an urban industrial setting.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSIONS

Winston Churchill once said, "Success is not final, failure is not fatal: it is the courage to continue that counts." When I embarked on my PhD journey in 2008, I never imagined it would take me almost 10 years to complete it. I started my journey assuming that the weekly markets in Lebanon are disappearing and we should do something to preserve them. This was based on a number of perceptions: the erosion of these markets in favor of city markets, the rise of shopping malls and other commercial shopping centers, the expansion in the means of transportation making it easier for people to access markets in the cities, the absence of an active municipal role to better manage these markets, and the lack of mechanisms to capitalize on new opportunities for transforming these markets. At that time, i.e., 2008, I thought that the main problem faced by markets is the absence of mechanisms to help rejuvenate these markets to take a more active role in the local economic cycle. In my research proposal in 2009 to Concordia University, I stated that the purpose of the research was to determine if these markets can help improve the local economy, and, if so, what strategies can be assumed to improve them and therefore improve the local economy; if not, then what other role these markets play. The main hypothesis at that time was that improving the economic role of these markets will lead to overall improvement in the local economy of the village/town and surrounding areas in which these markets, therefore assuring their continuity. This was designed with the intention of using surveys and interviews to acquire data to refute or affirm the hypothesis. I thought I would be finished in 4 to 5 years, at the most. What I didn't realize at that time, was that the same question could be asked in many different ways, generating different answers, and that the way one goes about research—i.e., methodology—could lead to different observations and conclusions. For a PhD candidate's research, much depends on the school in which he/she is enrolled, the program he/she is in, the advisor's perspective, the committee's background, and the PhD candidate's own experience on this journey. My journey to better understand the weekly markets falls along those lines. As hard as I tried to fit the weekly markets within a specific theoretical framework, structure, and approach for studying them—or even a format for organizing the findings and conclusions—the markets seemed to defy all structures.

After 3 years of coursework, papers, reading, field visits, and discussion, my approach, research question, and the associated assumptions changed. During the process, I was often

asked to allow the data and the interviews to guide me in underlining the research question. It took a while to realize that in fact I was moving from a deductive to an inductive approach to research on the market. Instead of starting with a hypothesis and testing the theory, I was, in fact, concerned with the generation of new theory that emerged from the data and using the research questions to narrow the scope of the research. This is probably the most difficult part in any qualitative, inductive-based research, as the researcher is not strictly dealing with a thesis statement that he/she has to affirm or refute. It required reshaping the research question to better answer the case beforehand. It is almost like dealing with a living and breathing creature that is influenced by its place of birth, experience of life, the progression of time, circumstances associated with its existence, and the choices it has to make on its life journey. One cannot simply sum a whole history, experience, or process in a single framework or set of factors that explains what it is or what it stands for.

The rural weekly markets across the world share a set of characteristics and aspects that make them similar, but also unique in their own way. Each of these markets is the embodiment of historical, geographic, social, and political experiences. It would have been easier to test the hypothesis using data and figures obtained from Souk Nabatieh and Souk Bint Jbeil. By doing this, however, I would be forgoing the cultural, social and political aspect of the market that is critical for understanding the organic evolvement of these markets over time.

With time, the purpose of the research came to be the exaimination of the rural weekly markets in South Lebanon and what role they have played in the sociopolitical and economic development of the region. This was explored by trying to understand the dynamic and relationship between market and society in South Lebanon, and by underlining the factors that have contributed to its existence over the centuries despite the industrialization and modernization of communities.

So, what did I find after all this time and after all this research, and why does it matter? The most important conclusion is that the rural weekly markets in South Lebanon are examples of how markets are embedded in social, political, and cultural relations. History, geography, social and cultural relations, political leadership, policy, and power play a critical role in their formation, growth, and evolvement overtime. Their sustained existence is driven by social and cultural factors, such as norms, values, and practices found within the marketplace—a perception that is found among sociologists and political economists, and also shared by local municipal

leaders and people who see these markets as marginal entities that are economically insignificant, but socially and culturally critical.

Souk Bint Jbeil and Souk Nabatieh emerged between the 14th and 16th centuries and continue to play a pivotal role within local town and village life. Despite the many political, social, and economic factors that, based on the thought of many schools in economic theory, should have vanquished the markets many times over since the markets' establishment, they are still thriving. The weekly markets' continued presence and central place in the culture of the region demonstrate how the markets' significance extends beyond the interplay of supply and demand and economic transactions.

According to classical economists, markets are governed by the interplay between the economic factors of supply and demand. For social and political scientists, markets are not autonomous, but subordinated to politics, religion and social relations. My research has confirmed that rural weekly markets in Lebanon are examples of how markets are embedded within social, political, and economic relations. The souk in South Lebanon is not autonomous, but embedded in social, political, and economic relations that have played a significant role in its existence and persistence. Although the markets are marked by economic transactions, they are not defined solely by economic concerns. In fact, the experiences of the informants, as well as analysis of the more distant and recent historical events in the region, confirm that the markets are often motivated by and catalysts of social and political development and the maintenance of cultural tradition.

The rural weekly markets provide a unique perspective on the political, social, and economic engine of the country as a whole. If we take the market as an organism that represents the whole (i.e., Lebanon), it is easy to see the interplay of the historical past, geographic position, social and cultural interaction, and political factors, as well as economic viability of the market. People to date are still stuck in the past or the nostalgia of what it could be. It is like hearing Fairuz and thinking of the fleeting golden periods in the modern history of Lebanon. If today's Lebanese are not doing this, then they are beating themselves over what went wrong, with no constructive or positive idea of how it can be better. People still see the geographic position of these markets and towns in light of the past, as opposed to the present. Their point of reference is always their link to Palestine, Syria, and the Hijaz. When they reflect on today, the economic role of the weekly markets is insignificant or at least, reading of their stories shows this. The

only area where the market carries a bridging factor between past and present is in the interaction of social and cultural factors, such as norms, beliefs, values, and day-to-day habits, which for the most part have been maintained. Researchers, digging beyond the obvious and analyzing the philosophical underpinnings of the market, view it as a political entity; the people, however, do not view it as a political entity. This is not to say that people don't have anything to say about the political role of the market, but this is reflected in anecdotes or stories of their experiences in the war or stories of resistance and political figures or freedom fighters linked in a way or another to the market. The last role is the economic; this role, unfortunately as that of history and geography, has receded over time so that the economic significance of the market is almost euphoric and is limited to the direct constituents of the traders and vendors within the market. Neither the political leaders, economists, nor people see the viability or the important role these markets could play in the economy of rural towns and villages. I would like to believe that studying these markets further could be a real source of economic wealth for the communities, but that can only be done when all involved parties have really underlined, understood, and thoroughly investigated all the factors that determine why people continue to be attached to these markets.

What do I know now that I didn't know before? A number of conclusions emerged from the research around the literature and the value, relevance, and implications of the findings in light of the existing studies. Knowledge of markets is so broad now that it includes money markets, urban markets, farmers markets, periodic markets, commodity markets, fixed markets, market towns, marketplaces, and many others. The researcher must be very specific in determining where and which aspects to tackle and focus on. When reviewing the literature, it is almost easy to get lost in the definitions and meanings associated with the market. Even though the weekly markets can reasonably be analyzed from the sociopolitical perspective, it was difficult to simply focus and narrow this down without going through all the definitions, meanings, perspectives, and approaches to the market, starting with the theories of Adam Smith and Karl Marx and extending to contemporary theories. What I realized was that most of the literature within the classical and sociopolitical perspective is almost repeating itself with a slightly different take or added note on the market, and the assertion that all stems from either the background or the experience of the researchers themselves. This is particularly true in the sociopolitical perspective, where theorists' explanations and categorizations of the market

resembled one another but included different labels or slightly different explanations. It is as though each person wanted to have ownership over the production of knowledge, so they just changed the names and called the concepts by other names.

I found that although most of the published literature on markets takes into consideration markets outside Western Europe or the United States, the bulk of the references and analysis grows out of their experience and observation as Western thinkers reflecting on developing countries or even the colonial period. Eastern thinkers are quite absent from the discourse, with the exception of few that have actually made it through; an example of one such thinker is Souraya Farouqui. Most of the Eastern thinkers or sources I found really tackle these communities from a historical perspective or from a sociopolitical and economic perspective of modern Lebanon, with little to say on the markets themselves. More literature and material on weekly markets in Lebanon and the Middle East needs to be made available for Western thinkers. This study, then, fills an important void in the research as it examines the rural weekly markets in South Lebanon on their own terms, through the lens of a native anthropologist using participant observation and having conducted an extensive comparative review of the literature to provide a holistic analysis of these markets. The collection of stories and observations gathered over the years on the different permanent, weekly, bazaar, farmers and flea markets visited and observed gives a broad perspective of where and how these markets fit in the dialogue.

Another important issue that emerged in the research is the dichotomy between the field and the theory. While going through the literature, it is difficult to really associate one's subject with what one is reading because the theory speaks of the market as if devoid of the human or community elements. Only a few social scientists or anthropologists, including Fogg, Miksell, Hart, and Mintz, approached the market from an ethnographic perspective and based their observations on examples of communities in Africa or Asia. Most of their observations were made in the early to mid 1900s. In the case of weekly markets in South Lebanon, the use of ethnography in describing the market is a new way of reading, writing about, and understanding the issue. My experience using it came as a logical consequence of my research and visits to the market.

Another issue that emerged in reading of the literature is the importance of using longue durée in the reading of the market within the context of Lebanese history. Even though the body

of this work was not included in my final draft, it provided an important framework for my understanding and analysis of the market over history. The use of longue durée, although necessary, is often seen as tedious and sometimes dull when discussing an active process such as "the marketplace." A researcher spends a lot of time mapping the history only to include a very short summary of it. It is, however, critical for understanding the evolvement of these markets over time.

I discovered that it is not possible to fit the market into one specific perspective or theory of understanding, even to confirm or refute a theory. Actually, I discovered that confirming and refuting a theory is not what is important, and, in my judgment, it does not add much to the existing body of knowledge. Trying to better understand cultures, communities, practices, and perceptions provides a more dynamic way of looking at things, and the weekly markets are part of this. It does not make sense to approach the weekly markets from a structured economic perspective alone, even though it is relatively easy to understand or even to draw conclusions about the economic dynamic. It is important to approach the markets from a holistic perspective that takes into consideration all other pertinent factors; otherwise, the researcher will only see a small part of the issue.

Most importantly, I discovered first hand one of the difficulties of participant observation: practicing emotional detachment from the subject and community studied. In this particular case, I discovered that a researcher cannot approach the markets with the nostalgia of what they can be and hope to just fix them and make them better. Just because I would like these markets to have the touristic appeal that you would see in North America or Europe or even in other parts of Lebanon, or Bosnia for that matter, it doesn't mean that these markets can be transformed to resemble these markets. Again, you would have to go with different hats when looking at these markets. As a Lebanese who grew up and studied in North America, your recollection and memories of these places is often driven by childhood memories and nostalgia. As a native going to visit these markets, you are often faced with the challenge of comparing them to other markets seen elsewhere in the world, wondering why these markets cannot be as such. As a foreigner to these markets with a sense of neutrality regarding the place and time, you really have to simply put on a participant-observant hat in order to understand the markets and appreciate their organic dynamic. The weekly markets in South Lebanon, particulary Souk Nabatieh and Souk Bint Jbeil, have their own growth purpose and "raison d'être," and the

research simply has to observe that and see where it will go, perhaps analyzing it and making sense of it. I went through the process of making sense of ideas, thoughts, and expressions of people—what they mean and how their ideas really fit in my study or literature review. Yet, at the same time, the only way to actually confirm what I would like to say was to actually present my observations. The people I studied do not care what theories and ideas I discovered or generated: the bottom line is how the study of the market will affect their life today and how it can make it better. Otherwise, it is almost natural to simply fall into the stories of the golden past that is often resurrected to help people deal with the difficult reality of the present.

I realized that over 11 years, even though much time has passed, and many things have evolved in Souk Nabatieh and Souk Bint Jbeil, at the root of things very few changes can be remarked without going into the microanalysis of facts and issues. Even in the destruction and resurrection of markets, people end up at the same point in time and history as determined by the socioeconomic and political conditions of the people at a given time.

This brings us to an important question: Who cares? The research on the weekly markets in South Lebanon bridges different disciplines and approaches for observing, studying, and analyzing markets. It provides a broad framework for approaching markets and looking at markets in a holistic and communal fashion. This provides an old, yet new way of understanding markets. There have been almost no ethnographic studies or publications on marketplaces and market towns such as those of Nabatieh and Bint Jbeil since the 1960s. The research provides insight into communities that are often left unstudied—often subject to propaganda and cliché as it relates to ethnicity, religion, and political and social ideology. It disregards the interaction and intersection of all of these elements within market communities. Conducting research on South Lebanon is not easy, even for someone who comes from that area. The researcher as well as the subject is faced with a dilemma of the occupation and the aggressor; what can and cannot be published; what can be said and cannot be said.

The research provides a reflection for policy makers on where and how the weekly market could otherwise evolve with a little bit more effort or understanding of their value as community assets. It provides a basis for building on new possible research on the importance of the weekly markets as social, political and economic engines for local communities.

It also provides a basis for exploring other markets in Lebanon such as the study done by Abdel Nour on Sidon in the 1970s, which is a real novelty in the body of literature published in

Arabic and French by Lebanese researchers on marketplaces and market towns. The stories generated around and about the weekly markets in South Lebanon need to be documented and the best way is through ethnographic description of these places. This study provides an example for new emerging ethnographers in Lebanon who focus on the study of people within urban culture, or predominantly focus on women or specific social and political issues. Documenting people's perceptions, attitudes, and practices through thick narrative descriptions not only gives a clear image of these markets, but also provides a rich base for sociopolitical and economic analysis based on people everyday life. The use of surveys, questionnaires, and quantitiative analysis in the study of markets are essential, but they miss the human aspects as well as adaptability and resilience of communities that make these markets function. This study provides a model for future reference and work for ethnographers in Lebanon and the Middle East.

What do I know that no one else knows? This is a very difficult question to answer. I think this is really contextual. If my audience is the West, then I am providing a snapshot of a process, perspective, and case of community—and without this study, they would never have gotten a chance to learn about this subject. This study simply confirms the sociopolitical approach to the market, but at the same time provides a different way of looking at it. If my audience is the East and people in the Middle East, the research simply articulates the internal struggle of people and the complexity of what they are going through, and what it all means for the future. It is a point for reflection and possible action for the future. I am not sure if claims for new knowledge or contribution for knowledge can be made; nonetheless, the case study approach provided insight into the work and lives of the communities represented by these markets. It also helped explore the relationship and process between the market and people.

A number of limitations to the research can be highlighted. One limitation is that the research took place over a period of 11 years. Apart from the Syrian conflict and its impact on the composition of the vendors and the people visiting the market, there were few changes to be recorded in the composition, structure, and management of the market. The evolution and changes in the market are an organic change and shift that reflect the reality of South Lebanon at a point in time. It is an ethnographic portrait of the people, government, leadership, and social and economic relations within these communities. The second limitation is that the data collection process had to take place through local informants even though the researcher is a

native to the South, but not necessarily from the towns of the markets. The choice of the people willing to be interviewed was based on the informants' access to people and their expressed willingness to be interviewed. This might have limited the scope of analysis. The third limitation is that the absence of sources on the the weekly markets, written by Lebanese researchers, impacted the level of analysis.

The study provides insight on periodic markets in the Middle East, particularly Lebanon. It distinguishes between urban and rural periodic markets in context, setting, purpose, economic benefit, and other areas. The study confirms Karl Polanyi's theory and concept of embeddedness. It looks at a case example of markets that were a point of interest in the 1970s, but no longer a major source of study even though they continue to exist as organic institutions and structures with minimal funding or support.

What are the recommendations for future research and practical applications? In terms of recommendations for future research, many things can be done, including further research on the other weekly markets located in the hinterland of Lebanon (Beqaa, North, and even South); the urban weekly markets in Lebanon, including farmers market, earth market, and Sunday Market in Beirut, as well as both port-city-based markets such as those in Sidon, Tripoli, Byblos, and Tyre and internal markets such as market town of Baalback, market town of Zahle, and Al Marej. These markets need to be documented—if not for the present, at least for the future preservation and understanding of the economic, political, and social history of Lebanon. It would be interesting to see the purpose, structure and how these markets differ from periodic markets in South Lebanon.

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Appendix A

List of Weekly Markets in South Lebanon

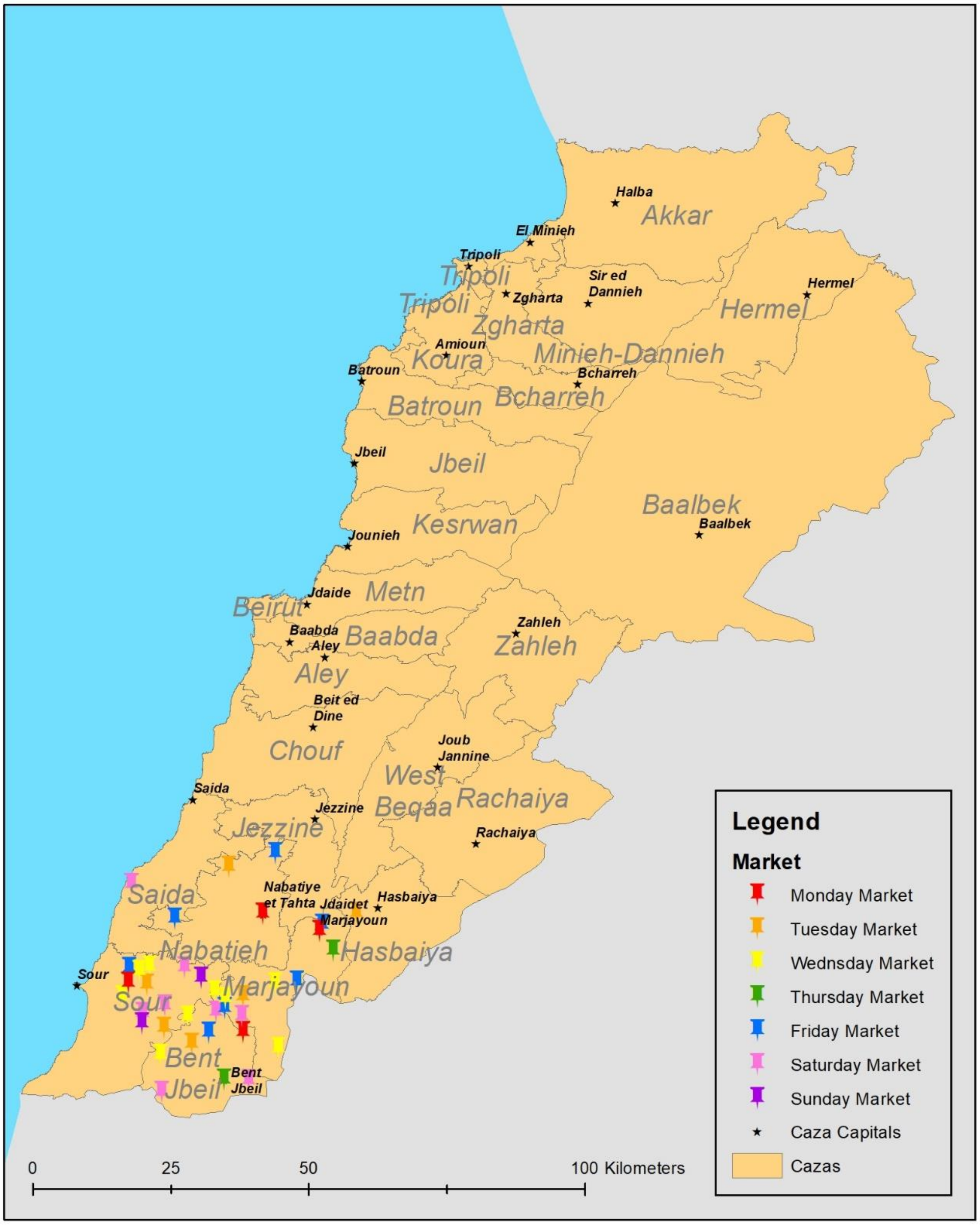
	Name of Market	Village	Caza	Governate	Size	No. Stands	Period of Establish-ment	Charges by Municipality Per Stand (2x2 m²)
1	Saturday Market	Ayta Shaab	Bint Jbeil	Nabatieh	Medium	15 to 35	after 2000	5,000 LL
2	Saturday Market	Aytaroun	Bint Jbeil	Nabatieh	Medium	15 to 35	after 2000	5,000 LL
3	Wednesday Market	Deir Natr	Bint Jbeil	Nabatieh	Medium	15 to 35	after 2000	None
4	Tuesday Market	Haris	Bint Jbeil	Nabatieh	Medium	15 to 35	after 2000	None
5	Saturday Market	Khirbet Silim	Bint Jbeil	Nabatieh	Medium	15 to 35	after 2000	None
6	Monday Market	Shaqra	Bint Jbeil	Nabatieh	Medium	15 to 35	after 2000	None
7	Friday Market	Tibnein	Bint Jbeil	Nabatieh	Medium	15 to 35	after 2000	None
8	Wednesday Market	Yatter	Bint Jbeil	Nabatieh	Medium	15 to 35	after 2000	None
9	Wednesday Market	Burj Qallawiyeh	Bint Jbeil	Nabatieh	Small	5 to 15	after 2000	None
10	Thursday Market	Bint Jbeil	Bint Jbeil	Nabatieh	Very Large	> 60	early 1500	10,000 LL
11	Tuesday Market	Souk El Khan	Hasbaya	Nabatieh	Medium	15 to 35	mid 1300	5,000 LL
12	Friday Market	Dibine	Marjayoun	Nabatieh	Medium	15 to 35	after 2000	None
13	Wednesday Market	El Taybeh	Marjayoun	Nabatieh	Medium	15 to 35	early 1900	5,000 LL
14	Monday Market	Marjayoun	Marjayoun	Nabatieh	Medium	15 to 35	early 1900	5,000 LL
15	Thursday Market	Khyiam	Marjayoun	Nabatieh	Medium	15 to 35	early 1900	5,000 LL
16	Friday Market	As Suwana	Marjayoun	Nabatieh	Small	5 to 15	after 2000	None
17	Friday Market	Kfar Kila	Marjayoun	Nabatieh	Small	5 to 15	after 2000	None
18	Saturday Market	Majdal Silim	Marjayoun	Nabatieh	Small	5 to 15	after 2000	None
19	Tuesday Market	Qabrikha	Marjayoun	Nabatieh	Small	5 to 15	after 2000	None
20	Wednesday Market	Meis El Jabal	Marjayoun	Nabatieh	Small	5 to 15	mid 1970	5,000 LL
21	Wednesday Market	Touline	Marjayoun	Nabatieh	Very Small	5 to 15	after 2010	None
22	Friday Market	Jbeai	Nabatieh	Nabatieh	Medium	15 to 35	early 1900	5,000 LL
23	Friday Market	Nsar	Nabatieh	Nabatieh	Small	5 to 15	after 1990	5,000 LL

24	Monday Market	Nabatieh	Nabatieh	Nabatieh	Very Large	> 60	early 1500	10,000LL
25	Tuesday Market	Roumein	Nabatieh	Nabatieh	Very Small	5 to 15	after 2010	None
26	Saturday Market	Saksakieh	Sidon	S. Lebanon	Small	5 to 15	after 1990	5,000 LL
27	Friday Market	Abbasieh	Tyre	S. Lebanon	Large	35 to 60	early 1900	7,000 LL
28	Saturday Market	Ayitt	Tyre	S. Lebanon	Medium	15 to 35	after 1990	5,000 LL
29	Sunday Market	Srifa	Tyre	S. Lebanon	Medium	15 to 35	after 1990	5,000 LL
30	Monday Market	Tair Dibbeh	Tyre	S. Lebanon	Medium	15 to 35	after 1990	5,000 LL
31	Wednesday Market	Tura	Tyre	S. Lebanon	Medium	15 to 35	after 2010	5,000 LL
32	Wednesday Market	Bazourieh	Tyre	S. Lebanon	Medium	15 to 35	early 1900	5,000 LL
33	Saturday Market	Jouya	Tyre	S. Lebanon	Medium	15 to 35	early 1900	5,000 LL
34	Sunday Market	Qana	Tyre	S. Lebanon	Medium	15 to 35	early 1900	5,000 LL
35	Tuesday Market	Maarakeh	Tyre	S. Lebanon	Medium	15 to 35	mid 1970	5,000 LL
36	Saturday Market	Shhour	Tyre	S. Lebanon	Small	5 to 15	after 1990	5,000 LL
37	Wednesday Market	Deir Qanoun Nahr	Tyre	S. Lebanon	Small	5 to 15	after 2000	None
38	Tuesday Market	Deir Ames	Tyre	S. Lebanon	Very Small	1 to 5	after 2010	None

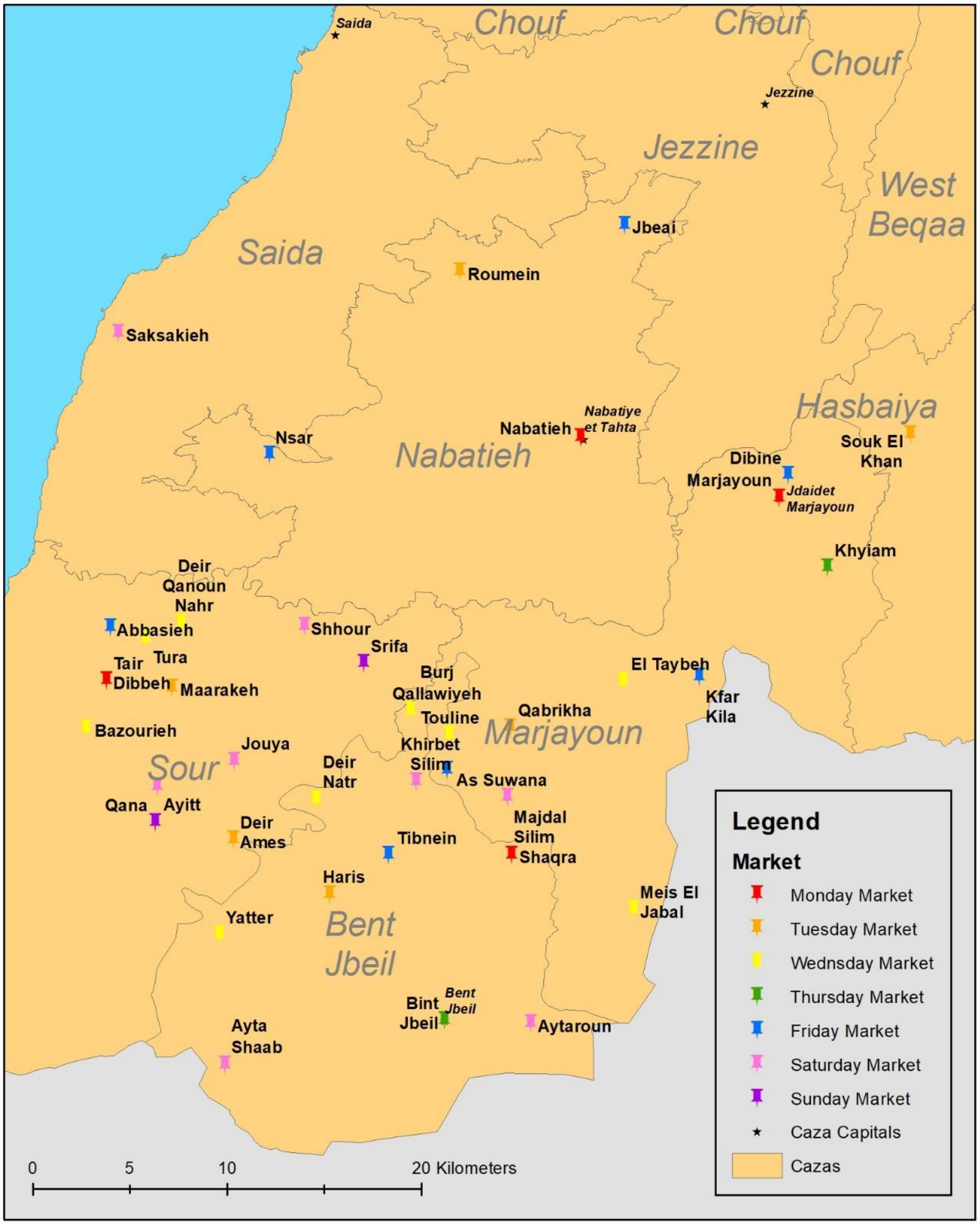
Appendix B

GIS Maps of the Distribtion of the Weekly Markets in South Lebanon

Distribution of Weekly Markets in South Lebanon by Day



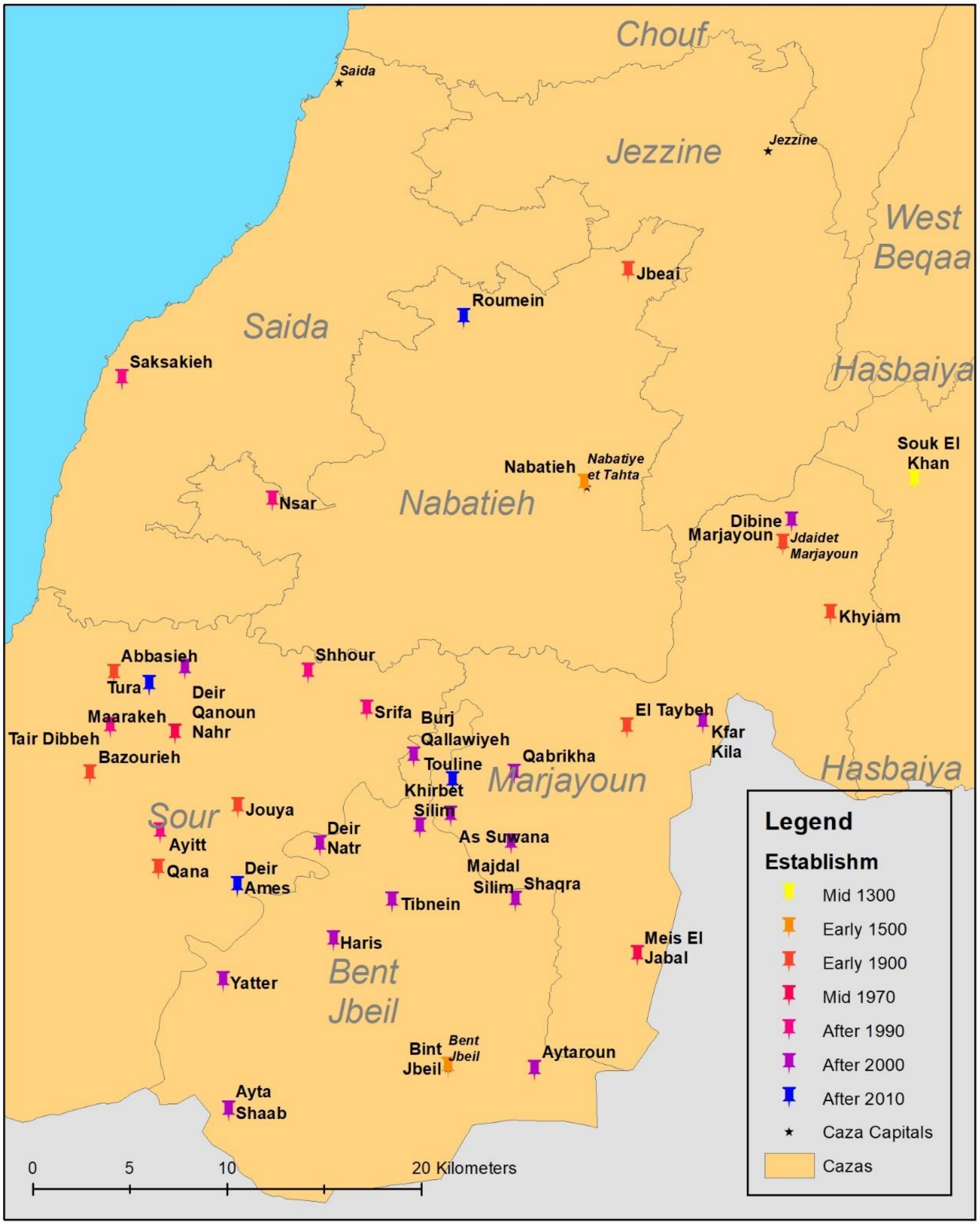
Distribution of Weekly Markets in South Lebanon by Day



Distribution of Weekly Markets in South Lebanon by Size



Distribution of Weekly Markets in South Lebanon by Period of Establishment



Appendix C

Detailed Research Questions

Historical Evolution, Changes, and Transformations of the Market

1. What are the major historical, geographic, social, cultural, political, and economic conditions that contributed to the evolution and changes of markets in South Lebanon?

- How did rural weekly markets in South Lebanon evolve over time?
- What are the major transformational issues that can be recorded?
- What did these markets mean to people in the past and how does this compare to the markets' meaning to people in the present?

Geographic Location and Physical Structure of the Market

2. What is the significance of the geographic location, space, and place in the existence and continuity of rural weekly markets in South Lebanon?

- What is the role of space in the functionality and continuity of the market?
- How does change in space affect market continuity?

Social Structure, Role, Processes, and Dynamics within the Market

3. How are the rural weekly markets in South Lebanon embedded within social, cultural, and political relations?

- What is the demographic nature of consumers and vendors within the market?
- What is the relationship between the town market and the surrounding villages?
- How are class relations played out in the market?
- What are the social values, norms, practices, and other cultural issues associated with markets?
- What is the relationship between vendors and consumers?
- What is the nature of networks (formal and informal) found within the market?
- How are gender relations played out in the market?

State, Power, Leadership, and Social and Political Movements

4. What is the influence of the state, local authority, and political and social forces on rural weekly markets in South Lebanon?

- What is the relationship between state and local authorities and the market?
- What are the political issues and power relations surrounding markets?

- What roles do the local community, local government, and NGOs play in the formation and management of markets?
- What is the role of the state, local leadership, and power in the proliferation of markets?
- What is the relationship between markets and social movements?
- What is the relationship among vendors, consumers, and local authority?

Economic Relations, Money, Credit, and Transactions within the Market

5. To what extent are rural weekly markets in South Lebanon influenced by the Lebanese formal economy?

- How is the market integrated or not integrated into the Lebanese formal economy?
- What is the nature of capital, credit, taxes, fees, and other economic transactions within these markets?
- What is the relationship between these markets and the political and social economy of Lebanon, the region, and the world?
- What is the nature of supply and demand within these markets?
- What is the relationship among foreign, local, fixed, and mobile vendors?

Appendix D

Historical Evolution, Change, and Transformation of the Market

The following section focuses on the major historical, geographic, social, cultural, political and economic conditions that contributed to the evolution and changes of markets in South Lebanon. It looks at how rural weekly markets evolved over time. It highlights the major transformational issues that can be recorded over history. It also looks at what these markets mean to people in the past and how this compares to the present.

The history of the market can be read along the lines of changes and development associated with the following periods:

1. Ottoman Period (1516-1914)
2. Independence and State Formation (1914-1975)
3. Civil War (1975-1990)
4. Post Civil War (1990 to date).

The defining lines for this section were adopted from Fawwaz Traboulsi's book *A History of Modern Lebanon* published in 2007.

Markets and Ports During the Ottoman Period (1516-1914)

The Ottoman period extended from 1516 to 1914. It was a period charged with instability, warfare, shift of alliances, treaties, industrialization, peripheralization, and other changes. This included international and regional conflict over economic interest and local fights over leadership and power. Prosperity in Jabal Amel and the flourishing of markets is linked and aligned with geopolitical shifts between the various powers as well as the political and military relations among the Ottoman Sultante, Wali of Acre, Wali of Sidon, Wali of Damascus, local potentates, and *multazims* [tax farmers]. Any strained relation between the Pope and a European state affected the political and trade relations between the European states and the Ottoman Empire. Political instability, conflict, and war in the region had direct impacts on the flow of commodities from, to, and through the Lebanese ports (Beirut, Sidon, Tyre, and Tripoli). It also affected the internal movement of pilgrimage and trade caravans between regions and cities in Palestine, Lebanon, Syria and Iraq. Market prosperity, stagnation, or decline was contingent on the internal shifts, changes, and alliance development locally and regionally.

The Ottoman Empire launched a series of regional wars in Austria, the Balkans, the Mediterranean, Caucasia, Transylvania, and Russia extending from 1662 to 1767, all of which had direct impacts on trade ports and trade centers in the Machrek area (Abdel-Nour, 1987). In

1662, the Ottomans engaged in direct war with the Austrian Empire over Hungary, resulting in the abolishment of French trade centers within the Machrek region. In 1669, a war was launched between the Ottomans and the Catholic Papacy over Crete, the property of Venice at that time, resulting in the fall of Crete to the Ottomans and decline in Venetian trade power. During the same period, there was a decline in French trade relations and the expansion of Dutch and English trade through the acquisition of economic incentives from the Ottomans (Abdel-Nour, 1987). In 1673, when an agreement among the Pope, the Austrians, and the French was signed, the Sultan of the Ottoman Empire responded by expanding trade privileges for the English and Dutch in Egypt through the right of transfer from Iskandrieh to Istanbul. During the Ottoman-Persian wars between 1714 and 1736, the caravan routes coming from the Gulf and passing through Iraq, Hallab in Syria, and Iskandaroun in Turkey were stopped. This had a direct impact on the flow of Persian silk into the region and increase in demand and production of Lebanese silk, with direct impact on prosperity of port cities such as Sidon and Beirut (Abdel-Nour, 1987).

The Ottoman defeats abroad, combined with Ottoman military losses, resulted in major economic impact on the Ottoman trade balance and, therefore, their internal as well as regional politics. At the local level, it resulted in the expansion of chaos throughout the Ottoman sultanate with direct impact on the shift of alliances and leadership within the Ottoman Empire. It also led to the demand for autonomy and independence by Governorates and city states such as Mount Lebanon, Jabal Amel, and Jabal Nablus, and consequently the shift of trading centers from Sidon to Acre and from Beirut to Haifa.

The continuous wars also fueled demands by the sultanate to finance the war through increase in taxes on families and peasants and increase in extrapolation by feudal lords and tax contractors. The heavy tax system combined with the feudal system of control resulted in social, economic, and political pressure on the southern states across the sultanate. Furthermore, the Ottoman loss in the Persian wars had a direct impact on the predominantly Shi'i population in Lebanon. The closure of the trading routes through the Gulf into Iskenderun and Hallab affected internal trading routes as trade caravans had to travel through Southern villages and Shi'i dominated areas for security purposes. The war also had an impact on the political and social dynamic of the communities and their relationship with the Ottoman leadership.

Over the years, a number of revolts took place within the region. The revolts were linked to power and control over territories, economic interest, and control over resources and trade

commodities. Extrapolation through tax provisions from conquered areas was a valuable source of income for the Ottoman Sultanate as well as a source of control and power for walis, local potentates, and multazims.

In 1737, Zahir al-‘Umar al-Zaydani (1690-1775), the Patriarch of al-Zaydani tribe living in a Palestinian village North of Galilee (Jabal Amel), marched into Tabaria, Houla, and Safad; conquered Nablus and Nazareth; and took over Acre in 1750. He was among the key provincial leaders in the Syrian provinces of the Ottoman Sultanate to establish an autonomous regime in northern Palestine. He came from a family of local leaders and multazims. His father, ‘Umar al-Zaydani, was the multazim of the regions of Tiberias and Safad in the early 18th century. After his father’s death in 1706, Zahir assumed the *iltizam*, but eventually broke away from his family’s old practice of tax-farming for the Shihabis in Mount Lebanon. This brought him face to face with central Ottoman authorities in both Damascus and Sidon. He began to ask for iltizam of new regions directly from the Wali of Sidon (Joudah, 1987).

During his reign, Zahir al-‘Umar established a number of alliances, particularly with the Shi’is in Jabal Amel (Southern Lebanon) due to their proximity with al-Zaydani tribe in northern Palestine. His tolernt and inclusive policy toward religious minorities gained him the support of the inhabitants in Upper Galilee. With the help of the Shi’is in Upper Galilee, who “were especially oppressed by Turkish officials and ready to follow any leader who promised relief, Zahir resolved to rid the region of its rulers” (Hitti, 1951, p.688). It is estimated that the Shi’is at that time had almost 2500 cavalier and 3500 marches and it is noted by Shii Historians such as Ali Al Zein that only around 300 to 500 fighters directly fought along Zahir al-‘Umar (Al Safa, 1959). The Shi’is had organized a harmonious political military army in order to maintain autonomy so that on each “hill top a castle and each land owner is a leader” (Abdel-Nour, 1987, p.50).

Zahir al-‘Umar owed his accomplishments and rise to political power to sound economic and administrative policies that provided him with the necessary foundation to realize his aims (Hitti, 1951; Joudah, 1987. By 1750 Zahir al-‘Umar dominated the entire Galilee extending his control all the way to Haifa with Acre as his seat of power. He became a major player in the politics of the Damascus and Sidon provinces, especially in Northern Palestine and Southern Lebanon, until 1775 (Joudah, 1987).

The revolt of Zahir al-‘Umar had major impact on the history of Jabal Amel including the rise of Sidon as a trading port for silk and cotton export as well as the import of processed manufacturing goods, such as silk and cotton garments, oil, soap, and other commodities (Abdel-Nour, 1987). The markets of Jabal Amel during the reign of Zahir al-‘Umar were characterized by prosperity and growth as security, order and justice, prevailed throughout his territories. The pilgrimage and trading routes between Acre and Damascus were secure and safe. Wheat was the prevailing agricultural crop in the Southern Galilee and one of the key commodities that flowed between these markets. Furthermore, his favorable economic, social, and administrative conditions attracted a great influx of diverse immigrants from several provinces and countries (i.e., Cyprus and Greece). Newcomers rushed to Zahir’s territories, particularly to Acre, which became a major port in the Levant after he had annexed the city in 1744 (Joudah, 1987). He rehabilitated Acre’s abandoned port, turned it into his residence and used it to export silk, cotton, wheat, and other products to foreign markets (Hitti, 1951).

The strength of Zahir al-‘Umar lay in his financial commitment and on time delivery of tax obligation to the Ottoman sultanate. This awarded him strong favor in Istanbul, who disregarded his policy of expansion. “He realized that to the government, it made no great difference who the agent was, Turk or Arab, as long as the cash was forthcoming” (Hitti, 1951, p. 688).

In 1760, Uthman Pasha al-Kurji (1760 to 1771) was appointed as the Wali of Damascus. He attempted to have each of his sons appointed as the governors of Tripoli and Sidon. While he succeeded in appointing his son Muhammad Pasha as governor of Tripoli in 1761, Wilayat Sidon was not granted to his other son, Darwish Pasha, until September 1770 (Joudah, 1987).

The reign of Uthman Pasha was characterized by injustice, heavy taxes, and exactions by his representatives. Due to his heavy-handed policy in the rural areas, a series of uprisings broke out in Yaffa, Ramlah, and Gaza between 1766 and 1767. Zahir al-‘Umar played a significant role in these revolts (Joudah, 1987).

During this period Zahir al-‘Umar entered into alliance with Ali Bey Al Khabir (1728-1773) in Egypt. Ali Bey was originally a Mamluk soldier, born in Abkhazia, Georgia, of an Orthodox Priest. He rose to power in 1768, when he rebelled against the Ottomans, seeking the independence of Egypt from the Ottoman Empire. In 1768, Ali Bey launched a campaign and seized a number of cities in the region including Damascus in 1771. With the help of the

Russian fleet, Zahir al-‘Umar occupied Sidon in 1772 (Hitti, 1951, p.688). By that time, Zahir al-‘Umar’s autonomy and power extended from Sidon to Acre. This brought concern to the Sublime Porte in Istanbul, who had to put an end to it. In 1770, it assigned Darwich Pasha, the son of Uthman Pasha al-Kurjias, as the Wali of Sidon in order to offset Zahir al-‘Umar’s leadership (Abdel-Nour, 1987). In 1773, Ali Bey Al Khabir was killed, the Ottomans entered into a truce with the Russians, and the Sublime Porte felt secure enough to put an end to Zahir’s power. In 1775, the Sublime Porte sent a squadron from Constantinople and with the cooperation of land forces seized Sidon, besieged Acre with “Turkish gold,” and put an end to the reign of Zahir al-‘Umar (Hitti, 1951).

At the time of his death in 1775, Zahir al-‘Umar had ruled large parts of Palestine and Lebanon for over half a century. He created a politics of trade and power that brought about the economic flourishing of Palestine including Upper Galilee (South Lebanon) and the prosperity of its population for most of the eighteenth century. From his urbanization of Galilee’s main villages, Taberias, Nazareth, Acre, and Haifa, and prevailing economic policies, sprang the merchant class as well as a core of local bourgeoisie. The economic system established by Zahir al-‘Umar mirrored the mercantile structure prevalent in Europe prior to the Industrial Revolution. This system of semi-monopoly during Zahir’s era gave rise to the state economy that was later adopted more elaborately by Muhammad Ali in Egypt in the early 19th century (Joudah, 1987).

In 1775, Ahmad Basha Al Jazzar (1720-1804) emerged to control the region. A Christian Bosnian by birth, Ahmad committed a sex crime when a boy, fled to Constantinople, sold himself to a Jewish slave dealer, and landed in possession of Ali Bey in Egypt (Hitti 1951, p. 689). He was used as an executioner, which earned him his title as Al Jazzar, the “Butcher.” He was among the Syrian army forces that tried to overthrow Zahir al-‘Umar in Acre in 1775. He extended his leadership and authority Southward and succeeded Zahir al-‘Umar in Acre, where he “fortified the city by forced labour from neighboring villages, built a small fleet, organized cavalry corps” and continued to rule over the region. Rewarded for his military services, he was assigned by the Ottomans the governorship of Sidon in 1776. He extended his ambition and became the governor over Damascus in 1780. With the help of the English fleet, Al Jazzar defended Acre from Napoleon in May of 1799 and continued to reign until 1804 when he died (Hitti, 1951, p. 690). Al Jazzar, the lord of Acre was an “usurper dictator” who “ruthlessly cut down his enemies and rivals, crushed the Shiis and Bedouin partisans of his predecessor and

terrorized Syria and Lebanon" (Hitti, 1951, p. 691). His name continues to be "synonymous with cruelty" (Hitti, 1951, p. 691). In Lebanon he played a divide and conquer policy, pitting one "party against another" (Hitti, 1951, p. 691).

This period in the history of Jabal Amel was a period of intense conflict, war, and struggle due to Al Jazzar's oppressive control and leadership which includes the confiscation of land, money, and resources; arbitrary arrests; and destruction of archival records, library books and other culturally significant items. It was during this period that the region witnessed a reversed migration from Jabal Amel to Iraq and Damascus (Al Safa, 1959, p.17). The economic conditions of the weekly market during this period reflected the struggle of the people at that time due to Al Jazzar's injustices, heavy taxes, exactions and policy of terror.

In 1788, Bashire II the Shihabi (1767-1850) was elected emir and was appointed as the governor of Mount Lebanon, the Beqaa Valley, and Jabal Amel. Together these territories formed about two thirds of modern-day Lebanon. Bashire II reformed taxes and attempted to break the feudal system in order to undercut his rival, Bashir Jumblatt, who had increased support from the Druze community. Between 1821 and 1825, Bashire II and Bashir Jumblat engaged in direct confrontation that led to the massacres of thousands as the Maronites attempted to gain control of Mount Lebanon, and the Druze tried to gain control over the Beqaa Valley. In 1825 Bashire II, helped by the Ottomans, defeated his rival in the Battle of Simqanieh and became the only leader of Mount Lebanon. Trying to obtain a greater degree of autonomy, he supported Muhammad Ali's rise against the Ottoman Empire and allied with Ali's son Ibrahim Pasha who occupied Syria on his father's behalf. In 1725, Bashir Jumblatt died in Acre at the order of Al Jazzar.

In the late 1820s, Mohamad Ali, the Wali of Egypt, launched a campaign against the Ottomans through Syria. In 1831, Bashir II broke away from the Ottoman Empire, allied himself with Muhammad 'Ali Pasha of Egypt, and assisted his son Ibrahim Pasha in a siege of Acre. In 1832, Ibrahim Pasha, the son of Mohamad Ali, seized Acre, captured Damascus, rooted the Ottoman army at Homs, and "came close to administering the final blow to the 'sick man of Europe'" (Hitti, 1951, p. 692). His advancement was offset through internal alliances, with Bashire II in Lebanon and the support of leadership in Jabal Amel. In 1840, the reign of Bashire II ended. He was forced into exile to Malta then to Istanbul, where he later died (Hitti, 1951).

Bashir II played a very important role in the modernization and emergence of Modern Lebanon and the Arabic Renaissance movement. It is said that Jabal Amel witnessed immense prosperity during this period. It was considered the Golden period of Jabal Amel, characterized by serenity, political stability, comfort, peace, and decrease in armaments of the Shi'is. There was also an increased focus on agricultural production and trade, and improved access to Egyptian markets including export of tobacco, grapes, cotton, silk, oil, sesame, and wood, all of which were internationally traded commodities associated with the Industrial Revolution (Al Safa, 1959).

Following this period, and extending from the 1850s onward, the Ottomans started shifting toward a centralized administration initiated by Mahmud the reformer, who was convinced more than ever that the only way of keeping Mount Lebanon under control was to sow the seeds of discord and stir up strife between the Christian and Druze populations, leading to civil strife between both communities and culminating in the massacre of 1860 with an estimated number of 11,000 Christian massacred; 5,000 women widowed and around 16,000 children orphaned. (Hitti, 1951, p. 694). The French intervened by occupying Lebanon for a year, during which the organic statute of 1861, revised in 1864, called for the declaration of Mount Lebanon autonomous to be referred to as *Mutasarafieh* with a Catholic Christian governor designated by the Sublime Porte and approved by the signatory powers (Hitti, 1951, p. 694).

This set the path for the future governance of the Republic of Lebanon in 1943. The autonomous Mutasarafieh of Mount Lebanon was stripped of Beirut, Sidon, Wadi Al Taym and eastern Beqaa. The leadership maintained its judiciary and military autonomy. No Turkish troops were allowed in, no tribute was sent to Constantinople, and no military service was required of its citizens.

The Mutasarafieh of Mount Lebanon entered a period of "tranquility and prosperity that was hardly matched in any other province in the empire" (Hitti, 1951, p. 696). New roads and highways were opened, villages were transformed to summer resorts, and a railway was constructed connecting Beirut with Damascus. It coincided with the Ottoman interest in establishing a rail road system that would connect the Syrian and Palestinian cities and provinces, develop Ottoman cities, increase prosperity and trade, allow the area to benefit from the national resources found within the provinces, and revitalize the Ottoman declining economy.

The privileged position enjoyed by Mount Lebanon was abolished by the Turks in World War I. Lebanon's semi-autonomous was abolished and Mount Lebanon, an important territory at the international level, was put under martial law by the Ottomans. Its charter served as a model for Crete. It was considered "the most successful example of autonomy applied to a Turkish province" (Hitti, 1951, p. 696). It was also the beginning of the rise of Mount Lebanon as "core" characterized by its religious composition, history, politics, and, of course, Ottoman policy vis-à-vis the mountain and its inhabitants.

At the economic level, during the 18th and 19th centuries, Lebanon experienced a period of liberal economic expansion associated with the wave of industrialization that swept Europe. This came with the rise of silk industry in Beirut and Mount Lebanon. Trade along the coastal cities differed from trade in the hinterland in terms of commodity traded. The rise of the silk industry and the concomitant changes in the trade in the area contributed to the practice of "free market policy" and as determined by international demand for silk and cotton as a commodity for textile industry in Europe. The rise and fall of markets within this period had to do with the Ottoman relations and conflict with the Occident as well as the internal dynamic of politics and leadership between the various city states. Consequently, the market provided the space for this interplay through commodity transfer, monetary and financial supply, and organizing mechanism.

The market dynamic was also impacted by the Ottoman interest in establishing railways connecting different cities across the Ottoman Empire, including Beirut-Damascus, Haifa-Damascus, Yafa-Jerusalem, and Dara-Beirut-Haifa. Traditionally, traders depended on animals such camels, horses, and donkeys to move between cities and towns. The roads were not paved and dangerous, particularly with the spread of thieves and bandits. The Bedouin tribes played a significant role in trade routes as they were the main supplier of camels and responsible for ensuring the safe passage of trade caravans between cities. Distances between cities were long and travel would take many days, requiring multiple stops along the way. For example, a trader would need 12 days to travel between Damascus and Yaffa (Mansour, 2008). Souk Nabatieh, Souk Bint Jbeil, and Souk El Khan were among the key markets in Northern Galilee that provided both a space for rest and an opportunity for trade. This reduced the travel interval between towns and cities as well as made the journey economically worthwhile.

Weekly Market During Independence Period and State Formation (1914-1943)

The period extending from 1914 to 1943 was a of transition, change, and political alignment and realignment due to War World I, World War II, and change in the world order. The fall of the Ottoman Empire resulted in the fragmentation of the different Wilayat; resurfacing of different religious, ethnic, and national identities; and increase in demand for autonomy after centuries of Ottoman central control. The French colonial mandate, its economic interest in the region, the rise of independent states supported by the elite, and the grouping of different states gave rise to a preferential treatment and disequilibrium in the nature of development and growth within the country. Furthermore, institutionalizing sectarianism along the same tax, feudal, and social system mandated by the Ottomans led to increased division between core and periphery within the country (Traboulsi, 2007).

During this period, the weekly markets in South Lebanon continued to rely on trade relations among Palestine, Damascus, and the Hijaz, as well as the pilgrimage caravans. The establishment of the railway system revitalized trade among the port cities of Haifa, Acre, Sidon, Beirut, and Tripoli, while trade in the hinterland continued as before due to the absence of railways. With the establishment of the railroad system, the traveling distance and cost of transportation for the trade caravans decreased. For example, transporting a ton of products through carriages used to cost 65 cents; with the railroad system it decreased to 20 cents (1 cent=1/10 francs) (Mansour, 2008). This had an impact on the trade routes of commodities as they moved from Port of Haifa and Acre to Sidon or Beirut and then to Damascus as opposed to the internal routes.

In 1916, during World War I and concurrent with the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire, King Hussein, the Sherif of Mecca of the Hashimite family, revolted against the Ottoman Sultan with the support of an Arab force recruited from the Bedouins, deserters of the Ottoman army, and allied forces from Palestine and Syria. This was met with resistance from the British and French, who were well established within the Arab provinces of the Ottoman Empire and had other plans for the region commemorated in an Anglo-French agreement that divided "the area into zones of permanent influence," according to the Sykes-Picot Agreement signed in May of 1916 (Hourani, 1991, p. 316).

The British Balfour Declaration of 1917 recognized the establishment of Jewish State, provided this did not infringe on the civil and religious rights of the people living there, while the

Treaty of Versailles states that the "Arab countries formally under the Ottoman rule could be provisionally recognized as independent" yet subject to assistance and support under French mandate (Hourani, 1991, p. 318).

The British and French interest in the Middle East was driven by commercial interest linked to their economic relations to the region. France's claim to Syria and Lebanon was driven by commercial and political interest determined by the Chambers of Commerce of Lyons and Marseilles. The British claim to Palestine was driven by its interest in creating a "buffer zone between Sinai and the Levant to defend the Suez Canal and the road to India and the far East" (Traboulsi, 2007, p.76), as well as in maintaining control over air routes going through Egypt, Iraq, and India and ensuring dominated trade partnership in Iraq oil fields and strategic position in controlling the Gulf (Hourani, 1991). Consequently, the French dropped their claim to Palestine and ceded their claim to Mosul, which was part of Syria at that time, in return for a "share in the Anglo-Persian Petroleum Company that had recently discovered oil in that region" (Traboulsi, 2007, p. 76).

In Syria, an attempt to support King Hussein and to establish an independent Arab state under King Faysal, his son, was suppressed after a series of negotiations in which King Faysal ceded for the independence of "Mount Lebanon" and recognition of "Lebanon's independence and territorial integrity" in return for a Syrian Arab federation that would "resort exclusively to French civil and military advisors and economic, cultural and military aid, while giving priority to French enterprises in his country's economic projects"(Traboulsi, 2007, p. 77).

On March 7, 1920, Syria was declared independent, with Faysal as its King. Jabal Amel rallied the Arab cause, calling for the independence of Jabal Amel, linked to the Syrian Federation. On April 24, 1920, some 600 Shi'is notables, ulemas, and leaders of armed partisans of the Arab revolt met in Hujeir Valley Congress to declare Jabal Amel an independent district linked to the Syrian federation (Traboulsi, 2007, p.77). The struggle among the various sectarian leaders as well as religions and geographic places emerged as a decisive factor in the negotiations. While the Christians rallied for a predominantly Christian Mount Lebanon, the Muslims rallied for their incorporation in a larger Arab or Syrian entity (Hourani, 1991, p. 318).

On April 26, 1920, the San Remo conference granted France its mandate over Syria and Lebanon. In July, the French under Millerand broke their commitment to King Faysal, crossing Beqaa, occupying Rayaq, and moving across the Anti-Lebanon range, defeating the Arab army

in Maysalun, and marching into Damascus. The Arab revolt was crushed, and King Fayasal fled to be declared a year later King of Iraq under British occupation and his brother King Abdallah Emir of Transjordan. Greater Syria was divided into 4 autonomous states: Greater Lebanon, Aleppo, Damascus, and the Alawi state. A fifth state of Jabal Druze was added in 1921 (Traboulsi, 2007, p. 79).

On September 1, 1920, General Gourand officially declared the creation of Greater Lebanon under French Mandate defined by original territory of "Mutasarrifiyya" and the annexation of the coastal cities of Beirut, Sidon, Tyre, and Tripoli and the ex-Ottoman cazas of Hasbaya and Rashaya. This was met with widespread resistance along the coast, Jabal Amel, the Beqaa, and Mount Lebanon. The Christians opposed the mandate because it violated their right for self-determination, while the Muslims saw the annexation and the "partition of Syria as an unjust economic, political fiscal and administrative system" (Traboulsi, 2007, p. 80).

The annexed territories had 380,000 people as opposed to 330,000 in Mount Lebanon, and their financial resources combined provided 83% of the fiscal revenues for the new state, 80% of which was spent in Mount Lebanon. In order to assume control of South Lebanon, the French bid the Christians against the Muslims through reliance on Christian collaborators. It took months before the 3,600 French troops were able to control South Lebanon not without recourse to execution, collective punishment, and scorched earth (Traboulsi, 2007, p. 80).

The question of the Southern borders remained open for negotiations. The British were eager to set the borders of Palestine at the Litani river, to meet their commitment to provide a national homeland for the Jews, therefore including the "not only the Lebanese regions of Tyre and Jabal Amel, but also the Syrian Golan Heights, Jabal al Sheik and Horan" (Traboulsi, 2007, p. 87). The French were determined not to make any concessions on the borders or in the waters of the Litani and Yarmuk rivers, and finally succeeded in fixing the borders with "safe distance south of the Litani, retained the tributaries of the Jordan inside the French zone, ceded Hula lake to Palestine and fixed the western borders at Ras al Naqoura on the Mediterranean," (Traboulsi 2007, p. 87) despite Zionist objections to the division of Galilee. The final accord between the French and English was ratified on March 7, 1923 (Traboulsi, 2007).

Sericulture, one of the original causes of French interest in the region, hardly survived the crises of the 1920s and finally collapsed in 1930, leading to a new wave of emigration. A new role was conjured for Mount Lebanon that focused on the revival of "Phoenicia as a cultural and

national identity differentiated from the Arabs and a model for an outward looking service economy" (Traboulsi, 2007, p. 92). This was proposed by the Maronite intellectuals of Beirut Francophone and Bourgeois class. The Phoenician model was complemented by the notion of "Lebanon as Switzerland of the East." This soon became a "multifunctional model: Lebanon, banker of the region, federation of sectarian cantons and a country that exploits its natural beauty in tourism" (Traboulsi, 2007, p. 92).

Sunni and Greek Orthodox politicians and functionaries from Beirut were replaced by middle class functionaries from Mount Lebanon "who quickly linked up with the city commercial/financial interests," defined by the interplay between the "old-new oligarchies" of the Lebanese nationalist camps (Traboulsi, 2007, p. 93). One group led by Iddeh with his Lebanese separatist ideology demanded a predominantly Christian majority state, and a second group led by Khoury with a moderate national Christian identity saw Lebanon as a country of minorities. Their vision of Greater Lebanon was reflected in their political ideology and economic practices, each with their own source of capital and merchant networks (Traboulsi, 2007).

During the French Mandate, key economic features included the decline in the silk industry, reduction in cotton exports, rise of the banking sector, shift toward service industry in core areas, continuous tax preferential between core and periphery, agricultural credit to landlords who advanced capital to the peasants at higher rates, increase in migration from rural to urban and urban to outside, development of favorable tariff agreement between Lebanon/Syria and its neighbors, and the creation of free zone in Beirut to promote export trade between international and regional markets.

Agricultural production was encouraged, but mainly for export purposes such as production of silk, cotton, sesame, tobacco, olive oil. Exports rose from 25% in the 1920s and 1930s to 30% to 60% between 1933 and 1939 (Gates, 1998). The production of olive oil increased from 7,500 tons in 1925 to 10,800 tons in 1926; around 1,300 tons was exported to Palestine, Italy, and France. In a report for an agricultural engineer in 1930, the existence of almost 120 tobacco manufacturers is indicated, some of which are equivalent to the best manufacturers in the world. During the same period olive oil pressing mills were introduced in Lebanon, three of which were based in Sidon (Daher, 1983, p. 148).

Even though agricultural production and development was encouraged, it was in favor of land owners and feudal lords and large farmers with the capacity and resources to borrow and to repay. The shift of lending mechanisms from land owners and feudal lords to credit companies only worked to reinforce credit monopoly by credit companies which already belonged to aristocratic class. This was accompanied by a preferential tax treatment in favor of Mount Lebanon over the rest of Lebanon, leading to high taxes in the rural agricultural areas, particularly Jabal Amel, Baalback, and Akkar. This resulted in local and international migration from rural to urban and from rural towns and villages abroad (Daher, 1983, p. 81).

During this period, a new tax system consisting of three different tax types was introduced. The first was the 10th Tax on agricultural land (12.5% of agricultural produce and can reach 17% and 22% due to monopolistic acts). The second tax was *Wirko* Tax (4/1,000 for non-aggregated land outside Municipality of Beirut, Sidon, and Tripoli and increased to 12/1,000 for aggregated land within those municipalities). The third tax was the Miri tax, and this was effective for hundreds of years in Mount Lebanon and established as per protocol of 1861 rectified in 1864. It was collected based on division of land to 24 karates and the karates to 24 grain. In addition to these taxes, there were taxes on gifts, marriage, divorce, inheritance, and other things, reaching more than 96 types during the Ottoman period and continuing until the French mandate. The 10th Tax was the heaviest, and sometimes the whole production was not enough to cover this tax, resulting in producers and farmers giving up their land to evade taxation (Daher, 1983, p. 88). The taxes were either collected directly by the government or by feudal lords or tax contractors, who were also large property owners. Tax dues varied according to region so that Mount Lebanon (Mutasarafieh) paid less tax than other areas, while they benefited the most from state infrastructure, system, administration, finance, and military. Mount Lebanon was predominantly taxed on *Wirko*, while the 10th or land tax was predominantly practiced in agricultural areas. Some reports indicate that even the Wirko tax was not paid by Mount Lebanon residents and the head tax was symbolic (Daher, 1983, p. 94). This discrimination lasted until 1936, when all taxes were unified and gathered under one tax system reaching around 15.35%. In 1951, the unified tax was increased by 100% as per Parliamentary decision and divided based on two types of land: Irrigated and Not Irrigated. Seventeen types of land and taxes were implemented on each type of land (Daher, 1983, p. 88).

During this period, “Beirut enjoyed economic domination over Mount Lebanon and the rest of Greater Lebanon” (Traboulsi, 2007, p. 93). Sidon lost its function in favor of Beirut Port as a transit port between east and west, connecting Syria to the Mediterranean going through Beqaa, Mashgara, and Jezzine. The opening of the rail road system between Damascus and Beirut prohibited the deposit of products exceeding 500 LL in the Port of Sidon. Increased interest in Palestinian port cities has transformed Sidon from a world-known port to a small fishing port along the Mediterranean (IRFED, 1963).

This set the pace for the dominance of the city over the village, the core over periphery, urban over rural. The rural areas continued to lack basic amenities needed for growth and development in terms of electricity, water, roads, schools, and irrigation (Daher, 1983, p. 82). Towns and villages continued to rely on a traditional agricultural economy with very limited influence of the monetary system and the world capital economy on the rural towns and markets (Daher, 1983, p. 82). Issues such as land size, division of properties, agricultural lending, sales through monetary, roads systems, organizing irrigation, introduction of industrial crops (sesame and cotton), strengthening agro industry (silk and tobacco), agricultural schools, introduction of technology, introduction of fertilizers, introduction of rent labour, and linking rural to urban did not take root in the periphery as it did in the core (Daher, 1983, p. 82).

Weekly Market During Independence Period and State Formation (1943-1975)

In the 1940s, Lebanon was a “pioneer in rejecting import substitution in favor of export oriented industry” (Traboulsi, 2007, p. 120). Its domestic production was limited, and the Lebanese domestic market was dominated by imported goods (Traboulsi, 2007, p. 119). The period between 1943 and 1975 was a period of transition, expansion, opening of markets, and social change. The division between the core and periphery became more prominent with the growth and prosperity of Beirut and Mount Lebanon as it benefited from an “outward”-led service-based economy and the fall of the South, Beqaa and Akkar (the rural periphery) due to the absence of industries, decline of trade with Palestine, absence of infrastructure development, and lack of strong administrative state system. Furthermore, Lebanon continued to suffer from corruption, feudal alliances, favoritism in nominations, lack of competence and lack of efficiency across most sectors.

In 1943, Lebanon was declared independent and its borders were defined by the Sykes-Picot Agreement, which included the coastal towns of Tripoli, Beirut, Sidon, and Tyre and their

respective hinterlands, which belonged to the Wilayet Beirut; and the fertile valley of the Beqaa, which included the cazas (administrative district) of Baalbek, the Beqaa, Rashaya, and Hasbaya, which belonged to the Wilayet of Damascus under the Ottomans (Salibi, 1993).

The French withdrew from the Lebanese territories and the constitution was signed. It was based on a sectarian composition of 24 Christian families (nine Maronite, seven Greek Catholic, One Latin, One Protestant, Four Greek Orthodox, and One Armenian) and six Muslim (Four Sunni, One Shii, and One Druze). The financial capital of the ruling families came from three main sources: the silk economy and trade import during the Mutasarrifya period; the war profits between 1940 and 1944; and the emigrant money repatriated from Africa, South America, and Gulf countries. The choice of the families in power best served the French neocolonial interest, as all the privileges and fiscal exemptions needed for an export led economy were well protected (Traboulsi, 2007, p. 117).

In 1947, the UN recommended the adoption and implementation of the Partition Plan for Mandatory Palestine with specified borders for the new Arab and Jewish state. The British Mandate for Palestine ended in 1948, resulting in the exodus and/or expulsion of more than 700,000 Palestinian Arabs from their villages and towns. This period was also known as *Nakba*.As a result, more than 300,000 Palestinian refugees sought shelter in Lebanon. Palestinian capital estimated at 150 million Palestine pounds flowed massively into the country, followed by a large number of rich and middle-class Palestinians. Lebanese industries experienced a severe blow as the value of its exports to Palestine was greater than its exports to France, Great Britain, and the US combined. Trade relations among Lebanese, Palestinian and Syrian towns and cities, particularly in the hinterland, continued to flow until the late 1940s. After that, the free flow of agricultural crops, cattle, and other merchandise between Lebanese cities and Palestinian cities halted.

Until the 1960s, at least half of the population consisted of craftsmen, urban workers and small industrialists (Gates, 1989). After 1948, Souk Bint Jbeil and Souk Nabatieh retracted as trade relations decreased and many of the small crafts shops and small industries that depended on the Palestinian market started to decline and eventually disappeared. This is particularly true for tanneries in Mashgara, pottery in Rashaya, and shoe making in Bint Jbeil.

The 1950s, marked the rise of the “Merchant Republic of Lebanon” with its headquarters in Beirut and Mount Lebanon. It was modeled along “Switzerland of the East” with a strong

banking sector and "outward"-led service-based economy, and it was run by a "consortium" of financial oligarchy with roots to the feudal system and "Millet" system of the Ottoman periods, all of which contributed to the rise of the service sector dominated by a merchant financial bourgeoisie with Beirut and Mount Lebanon as its beneficiaries (Traboulsi, 2007, p. 91).

The division between the core and periphery became more prominent with the growth and prosperity of Beirut and Mount Lebanon and the marginalization and peripheralization of the South, Beqaa, and Akkar. Beirut was crowned as a French city, modeled along the French capital with a Place de l'Etoile, a parliament, and a new business district at its center. The rest of Lebanon went on a downward spiral, particularly following 1943 and the definition of Lebanon's northern and southern borders.

The creation of the State of Israel, the Palestinian Nakba, closure of the borders with Palestine, and the halt of trade relations with Acre and Haifa resulted in the peripheralization of the towns and cities that depended on caravan and trade routes. On the other hand, Beirut and Mount Lebanon became the "main beneficiary of the Arab economic boycott of Israel," with Beirut taking over Haifa as the main port of the Arab hinterland and as international communication center between Europe, Asia and some part of Africa" (Traboulsi, 2007, p. 113).

For centuries, Jabal Amel had strong relations with the Palestinian hinterland. While export-led activities took place out of Sidon and Beirut, caravan and pilgrimage trade took place through internal routes stretching between Acre and Damascus. Traders would go to Bint Jbeil then move down to Lake Houla, Nablus, and Acre, or they would move up from Jabal Al Sheik to Damascus. After 1943, trading routes among Palestinian, Lebanese, and Syrian towns were cut off and borders between the countries were closed.

The impact on Jabal Amel and its economy was very strong as the combination of border closure, end of trade relations with Palestine, limited market outlet, increase in refugee influx and settlement, increase in unemployment, and increase in migration resulted in economic strain on the population and villages in the south. "Products destined for the Palestinian market (such as tanneries in Mashgara, pottery in Rashaya and shoe making in Bint Jbeil) practically collapsed" (Traboulsi, 2007, p. 113). The trade of soap, oil, wheat, seeds, and other crops between cities ceased. This resulted in the migration of many families from South Lebanon and Beqaa to Beirut and eventually overseas to the Gulf, Africa, and Latin America (Traboulsi, 2007, p. 113). Traders with a history of going south to Palestine continued to do so during and after

the mandate until the final borders started to be monitored on both sides. Traders from Jabel Amel, continued to engage in smuggling and illegal cross-border activity. According to informants from Abbasieh, South Lebanon, cattle and small ruminant traders continued to move between Lebanon and Palestine until the early 50s, even after the closure of the borders. This resulted in the temporary closure of Abbasieh market under the suspicion of smuggling and then its reopening by the resident families due to its economic return to the village (N. Ajami, personal communication, July 8, 2010).

In 1952, Kamil Chamoun came to power. He exercised almost autocratic leadership and exacerbated sectarian tension through his legislative and executive power and reinterpretation of the constitution. He used fraud, coercion, and Lebanese security forces to intervene in the 1957 elections and succeeded in alienating both the Christians and Muslims (Nir, 2004). Chamoun "policies not only alienated Muslim elites and the Muslim 'street'but divided the Christian ranks with the rise of the 'third force' that called for the Lebanese neutrality in the Arab conflict" (Traboulsi, 2007, p. 130). This coincided with the rise of Nasser of Egypt and the wave of Pan Arabism in the region. The Muslims in in Lebanon were massively attracted to Nasser's nationalist and anti-colonial discourse at a time when "Arab Nationalism was seen as the enemy for the west, particularly with its policy of non-alignment as a tactic alliance with the Soviet camp" (Traboulsi, 2007, p. 130).

In 1953, the Lebanese government under Chamoun received $6 million in US arms and economic aid, and by 1954, Chamoun allowed the US Air Force to use Lebanese air space for reconnaissance missions. This was carried out with a preferential commercial treaty long desired by Lebanese officials. The United States' interest in Lebanon was mainly for its potential as an "oil terminal" and "rapidly developing center for agencies representing its interest in the region. Lebanon infrastructure in terms of ports, communication networks and other provides a strong military base and could serve as a bridgehead in the event of military intervention in the region" (Traboulsi, 2007, p. 130).

In 1955, the Baghdad Pact was signed by King Faysal in Iraq, Nuri Al Said in Pakistan, Turkey, the Shah in Iran, and Western powers. In response, the Arab Defense Pact was signed by Egypt, Saudi Arabia, and Syria (Traboulsi, 2007, p. 130). In Lebanon, Kamil Chamoun refused to join the Arab Defense Pact and continued with the tactic of non-alignment without adhering officially to the anti-communist pact, yet supporting it without reservation. The region,

during this period, witnessed the rise of Arab nationalism and a policy of non-alignment with the Soviet Bloc versus the Western Anglo-Saxon Bloc. Lebanon witnessed the rise of the "third force" with neutrality toward the Arab-Israeli conflict, yet a policy of non-alignment with the Americans and their interest in the region.

On May 7, 1958, a left-wing journalist, Nasib Al Matni, a Maronite and editor in chief of a popular opposition daily, *Al Tallagraph*, was assassinated. He was known for his "violent criticism of Chamoun foreign policy and corruption" (Traboulsi, 2007, p. 134). This resulted in massive demonstrations organized by the opposition in Akkar, Minyeh, Shuf, Beqaa, and Sidon, demanding the resignation of the president and denouncing the foreign military pacts with clashes between the Army and partisans in a number of cities including Tripoli. The army under the authority of Fouad Chehab "observed a policy of "active neutrality" (Traboulsi, 2007, p. 134). During this year, the Nassirites and Ba'thist moved against their communist allies and the US sent troops into Lebanon to preserve the peace between the opposition under the leadership of Jumblat versus the government.

On September 23, 1958, Fouad Chehab was sworn in as the new president. During the first two years, Chehab was dedicated to defusing the tension, appealing for national unity, and insisting on equality among Lebanese. "He warned the rich that their behavior was likely to provoke a social revolution" and went on a campaign for social and economic justice including the introduction of social and economic reforms designed to help the poor areas through the introduction of public services, water supply, electricity in rural areas, and public health (Gilmour, 1983, p. 44). He believed that "those who benefited from prosperity should take care of the deprived Lebanese some should sacrifice and the others should be patient" (Traboulsi, 2007, p. 139).

As a military man and statist, Chehab envisioned Lebanon with a strong state led by "independent services and agencies," yet at the same time did not acknowledge and isolate the bureaucracy from the "encroachment of the political feudalist" (Traboulsi, 2007, p. 140). "His constitutionalist approach was limited to establishing sectarian equilibrium rather than abolishing sectarianism" by correcting the "failure of the sectarian system by injecting it with large doses of economic and social justice" and by playing an "active role in the regional development" of the country and "modification of the social distribution of economic growth" (Traboulsi, 2007, p. 141).

In 1959, President Chehab commended Father Lebret from L'Institut International de Recherches et de Formation en vue du Développment Integral Harmonisé (IRFED) mission to conduct a large survey on all the country's human, natural, economic, and social capacities and needs and to propose plans, projects, and solutions for the existing social and economic problems. The report presented by IRFED in 1961 confirmed Chehab's insight into the fact that underneath the deficiencies of the political system and the confessional conflicts laid serious economic and social problems. The prosperity in the capital Beirut masked an alarming under-development and poverty in other regions, such as the Beqaa, the Hermel, the North, and the South, which strongly lacked basic infrastructure (electricity, water, and roads). Villagers and citizens from the neglected rural areas were moving towards the suburbs of Beirut in search of a better income, creating a "belt of misery" around the capital. Huge economic and social gaps were noticed in the society and between the regions, especially at the national income level. Based on the report, the IRFED mission was asked to propose additional solutions to remedy the diagnosed problems and weaknesses. President Chehab dedicated the remainder of his mandate to initiating various social and economic development projects nation-wide (Beyond Beirut), and to introducing fundamental reforms to the state's administrative institutions (Fouad Chehab Foundation, 2018).

Chehab's way of bringing change was evolutionary. At the administrative level, he doubled the size of the state administration, employing almost 10,000 new functionaries; created the Central Inspection Council, with the mission to monitor and control the government employees' work and improve the services provided to the citizens; and created the Civil Service Board which handled the nominations, replacements, and upgrading of employees on merit basis, imposing university qualifications, entry exams, and replacing the widely spread political favoritism with that of professional merit. He established the National Institute of Administration to provide training to government employees and enhance their education and competence. A cooperative for government employees was also created.

He also approved a new Municipal Law that called for the establishment of 380 new municipalities in the various regions and broadened the powers of the regions' muhafiz to make administrative services less centralized. On the judiciary level, the Higher Judicial Council, the *Majliss Al Chura* [State Court] and the Institute of Judicial Studies were restructured. (Fouad Chehab Foundation, 2018).

At the social level, he established the Office of Planning and Social Development and National Council for Planning and Development in 1959 and initiated the National Council for Scientific Research. This set the stage to strengthen the national bonding, improve the citizens' quality of life, and create social equality, through an equal and complementary nation-wide development plan. He also created the National Fund of Social Security and Public Housing Institute (Fouad Chehab Foundation, 2018).

In addition to the above, schools, health, and social centers were started in the regions, providing training and social services and supporting handicraft activities for the rural population. Agricultural training was offered for farmers, and the Office for Fruits and Office for Wheat and Sugar Beet were created to provide farmers with technical support and to help them in packaging, marketing, and the control of international quality and export. Furthermore, a Cooperatives Law was promulgated to encourage solidarity and expenses sharing/saving amongst farmers. As a result, Lebanon's exports tripled between 1961 and 1965. The number of employees in the industry sector tripled between 1958 and 1964, and minimum wage for employees was significantly raised (From LL 94 to LL 125) (Fouad Chehab Foundation, 2018).

At the education level, he promoted education in rural areas. Between 1959 and 1970, the number of students in the South and the Beqaa rose from 64,000 to 225,000 students. A law organizing Higher Education was promulgated, and the Office of Youth and Sports was created. The Lebanese University was expanded, and branches in the following specializations were inaugurated: Law, Political Science, Literature, Sciences, and Social Studies (Fouad Chehab Foundation, 2018.

On December 31, 1961, Lebanon experienced its first military, yet failed coup d'état. It was instigated by the Syrian National Social Party, as a "reaction to the 1958 crises" and in response to the exclusion of SNSP and the undeserved victory of the anti-Chamoun forces and an overstated influence of Nasserism in Lebanon (Traboulsi, 2007, p. 139).

It is argued that there were serious suspicions that the "SNSP anti-Nassirite and anti-communist coup was encouraged and even financed by the British and the Jordanians desire to form an anti-Nasser federation comprised of Syria, Jordan, Lebanon and Iraq" (Traboulsi, 2007, p. 139). This led to the rise of Deuxieme bureau, an army intelligence, with the power as well as capacity to "intervene in trade unions, rally power brokers in local neighborhoods, controlled the

carrying of arms and exploited the state of emergency along the borders (in the south and the Beqaa) to impose a firm control over Lebanese life" (Traboulsi, 2007, p. 139).

In 1962, the first National Plan of Development was adopted, addressing all areas of economy, finance, banking, education, agriculture, industry, construction, tourism, health, social welfare, police, and administration. Under the Executive Council for Major Projects more than 1150 villages were equipped with water, electricity, and roads, and schools were built. The ports of Sidon and Tripoli were expanded, construction of the Port of Jounieh started, and Zouk-Faraya and Bickfaya-Kleyaate highways were established.

At the economic level, a new code for money and credit was established and the Central Bank of Lebanon was created to organize the banking and finance sectors. Chehab gave these projects very high priority and supervised their execution personally.

At the environmental level, the Green Plan project was initiated, and the Litany Project and Qaraoun Dam were completed. The Green Plan offered advice for farmers and long-term credit facilities. It opened new roads, gave prime importance to irrigation facilities (650 new water tanks were built), distributed a large number of saplings of a variety of trees, and undertook huge forestation campaigns and plans, covering tens of thousands of hectares. Furthermore, laws were enacted to protect the seashore and green areas. Small fishing ports were built for the fishermen along the coast.

As per the IRFED mission recommendations, priority was set on promoting Lebanese Tourism and the National Council of Tourism was created. Touristic sites were renovated (Jeita grotto and excavations in Sidon, Byblos, Tyre, Anjar, and Tripoli); rest-areas were built near the sites; and promotion offices were opened in various European, Arab, and American cities (the number of hotels in the country, rose from 245 hotels in 1960, to 339 in 1970.

Chehab's reform was met with resistance from the Lebanese Muslim and Christian oligarchy who rejected any infringement on its rents and profits, in order to safeguard its interests. It was also resisted by the "political feudalists" who saw their influence at the administrative level curbed and their "Maronite atomism" challenged by what appeared to be the state bias toward Muslims and its increased intervention in society (Traboulsi, 2007, p. 142). The establishment of the central bank and the organizing of the banking sector faced fierce criticism from leading businessmen, accusing them of bringing harm to the free economy and bringing forth governmental control.

In Spring 1964, Charles Hilo was elected as resident. Two major issues affected his tenure and policies: the “Arab cold War” between Abdel Nassir and Saudi Arabia and the Israeli diversion of the waters of the Jordan River and Arab efforts to counter this with pressure on Lebanon to deploy Egyptian forces in Lebanon. Charles Hilo agreed that “free enterprise was a necessary” but “not sufficient condition for a sound economic policy,” maintaining that the “role of the state should be limited to building the infrastructure for the development of the services for the poor” asserting that the “Lebanese business man is more enterprising and better administrator than his government” (Traboulsi, 2007, p. 145).

In 1964, the “employees of the oil sector, public transport, the electricity company and of the central bank forced the General Workers Union company to threaten a general strike if their demands were not met” in the form of wage increase and rise of minimum wage, resulting in Parliament conceding with “eight per cent wage increase for workers and 20 per cent salary increase for deputies” (Traboulsi, 2007, p. 145)

In 1965 and following the coming of the National Security Law into effect, the employers were “sabotaging the law by launching massive wave of workers dismissals to evade paying the social security fees,” resulting in further strikes in 1966, as “public sector workers went on strike and imposed a 6.8% wage increase and a rise in the monthly minimum wage from LL145 to LL175.” This was matched by primary school teachers going on strike and demanding a salary increase and a rise in the cost of living premium; law students at Arab University and LU also went on strike, demanding recognition for their law degrees and right to practice their profession. The “peasants and farmers launched a country wide movement in opposition to the monopolies in agro industries and the exploitation of small and middle level producers by the commercial/financial network” (Traboulsi, 2007, p. 146)

In South Lebanon, tobacco planters refused to deliver their product to the Régie unless better terms of sale were agreed upon. In Beqaa, thousands of “beetroot planters were in conflict with the sugar factory, the industrial monopoly and sole buyer of their product, and vegetable producers rose up against brokers and middlemen who tripled and price of their produce when selling to consumers” (Traboulsi, 2007, p. 146). In Mount Lebanon, 60% of the farmers who were apple cultivators objected to the high costs of production and control by middlemen over the price of products. “In February 1965, the farmers union of Metn, Shuf, Aley and North

Lebanon jointly called for a set of actions that were intended to end with a general strike" (Traboulsi, 2007, p. 146).

In August 1965, in solidarity with the agrarian movement which had failed to attract the attention of the authorities, a big popular rally of planters of fruit trees was organized by the Left parties in addition to trade unionist and independent figures in Btikhnay, the Caza of Aley, and home of Kamal Junblat. A counter rally was organized by Phalange leader Pierre Jumayil with a support from Junblat Druze rival Majid Arslan, where they "outbid each other in their profession of faith in the merits of free enterprise" with continuous attacks on "destructive socialism" (Traboulsi, 2007, p. 148). During the same period, further conflict within government erupted with regard to Karatina shanty town, built on the property of others in the eastern suburbs of Beirut leading to the widespread resent for the increase of "foreigners" in Lebanon (predominantly Syrians and Palestinians) and "widespread granting of Lebanese nationality to 'outsiders'" in reference to the nationalization of Palestinian Orthodox Christians within the country (Traboulsi, 2007, p. 147).

During the same period, Intra Bank, a private bank owned by a Palestinian Christian, crashed in October 1966, "plunging the economy into one of the most serious crises since independence and signaling the drying up of the prosperity the country had enjoyed during the two previous decades" (Traboulsi, 2007, p. 149). The Bank controlled some of the country's biggest companies, including the Compagnie du port de Beirut, the Middle East Airlines, Radio Orient, and eight property development companies, including the Societe Immobilière Libanaise, the owner of the Phoenicia Hotel, services, tourism, and industry. "The banks solvency crises resulted" from the "contradiction between its short term deposits and long term investment, especially in property" (Traboulsi, 2007, p. 150). It is argued that the "bank was most probably 'sunk' by a governmental decision to not float it, under pressure from the traditional oligarchy linked to Western financial capital" (Traboulsi, 2007, p. 150). With the fall of the bank, a number of local banks bankrupted, leading to "capital flight" with $18.6 million withdrawn from 20 Lebanese banks and reinvested abroad. This resulted in social and economic crises within the country revealing a "financial scandals" and the "arrest of a number of banks' major shareholders and Shihabist politicians," with major split in the ruling class (Traboulsi, 2007, p. 150).

Lebanon in the 1960s witnessed rapid industrial growth and decline in the agricultural sector. The industrial share of GDP rose from 14 to 18 percent, and investment in that sector grew from LL 987 million in 1966 to 1,234 million in 1979. On the other hand, the agricultural sector declined due to such factors as the increase in cost of credit, high prices of agricultural support products, and the loss of traditional practices such as shared cropping, forcing farmers to leave the agricultural sector in search of jobs (Traboulsi, 2007, p. 157). This period was also characterized by the rise of social movements, increase in poverty, and economic inequity. It was within this period that the Communist party took seed and the united forces of the working class, the peasants, and the student movement fused in their fight against neoliberal economic policies of the country.On the eve of the 1967 war,[53] the Lebanese population was in motion to challenge the established order, resist the crises, and oppose the policies of the Lebanese commercial/financial oligarchy expressing a deep desire for political, economic and social change (Traboulsi, 2007, p. 164). This included "convents of the north to the plantations of the south," "the militant working class," and the "student against the merchant society" (Traboulsi, 2007, p. 164).

Weekly Markets During the Civil War (1975-1990)

The period between 1975 and 1990 marks the beginning of the civil war, the Syrian presence in Lebanon, Israeli occupation of Lebanon in 1982, the end of the PLO presence in Lebanon, and the end of the civil war in 1990. The weekly markets during this period retracted, particularly those in South Lebanon. This is reflected in the size of the market, type and number of commodities traded, the number of vendors available, and the type and number of customers visiting the markets.

In 1975, Lebanon plunged into a two-year war, also commonly referred to as a "Christian Palestinian war" (Traboulsi, 2007, p. 201). It marked the beginning of the Lebanese civil war that in 1990. As the Lebanese National Movement (LNM) allied itself with the Palestinian leadership for popular and military support, the Phalange and Lebanese front rallied support from the Syrians.The PLO was concerned with pursuing military operations against Israel from

[53] The 1967 war, also known as the *Ḥarb 1967*, War of 1967, the Six-Day War, an-Naksah, June War, 1967 Arab-Israeli War, or Third Arab-Israeli War, was fought from June 5-10, 1967 by Israel and the neighboring states of Egypt (known at the time as the United Arab Republic), Jordan, and Syria.

Lebanese territory, while the LNM was mainly interested in imposing political reform through the PLO's military weight (Traboulsi, 2007, p. 201).

A wave of fighting, cleansing operations, and other military engagements took place in different towns and areas across Lebanon. Border security became a power play with different groups, defining the red line between Syrian presence versus Israeli security on Lebanese land. "Syrian-Israeli deterrence dialogue on Lebanese territory was inaugurated" (Traboulsi, 2007, p. 197) within an atmosphere of clashes, civil strife, and ethnic cleansing. All of this led to a ministerial crisis, blockage of the new cabinet, external diplomatic interventions, fire, ceasefire, drawing of red and green lines between the Syrians and Israelis, a continuous interplay of political positioning, the beginning of a long wave of Syria versus Israel power interplay on Lebanese territories with Syria's interest carrying out a military incursion into Lebanon to control the PLO, and US interplay with Israel for involvement in Lebanese politics (Traboulsi, 2007, p. 195).

In August 1975, a transitional program for democratic reform was issued by the LNM calling for the abolition of political and administrative sectarian quotas and their replacement by civil personal status code, the establishment of a new electoral law based on proportional representation, and the administrative decentralization of a constituent's assembly based on a non-sectarian status. This was faced with major opposition from sectarian and religious leaders, particularly the Phalange party headed by Pierre Jumail, who eventually ceded to the secularization of the state, the unifying of personal status law, and the distribution of administrative posts based on competence, but at the same time was adamant about maintaining sectarian quotas for the three top positions. The constitution and National Pact of 1943 was deemed untouchable and only to be modified through the unanimous approval of all Lebanese. The response of the Lebanese National Movement was "no reforms, no army," imposing a veto against any engagement of the army in keeping order without prior acceptance of the reforms and resulting in a ministerial, social, and economic crisis (Traboulsi, 2007, p. 189).

In 1976, Lebanon witnessed the longest and most destructive military clashes with heavy losses and causalities incurred on both sides (Traboulsi, 2007, p. 197). Between June and August 1976, "Lebanon witnessed the revolving door of Arab mediation" within an overall atmosphere of civil strife and ceasefire. This was followed by the violation of the ceasefire by counter offensive organized by the Phalange party, leading to the occupation of Nab'a on the

green line separating West Beirut from East Beirut on August 6, 1976, resulting in the expulsion of 200,000 Shii Muslims from East Beirut, before launching their final assault on Tall Al Zatar after Pierre Jumail promised to Musa Sadder, the Shii religious and only leader at that time, that in the eastern suburb of Beirut 200,000 Shii Muslims would be spared in the fighting between the various sanctions as a tribute to Shi'a neutrality in the process.

In June of 1976, Israel opened the "good frontier" in the South and appointed Major Sa'ad Haddad, founder Army of Free Lebanon (AFL), also known as the South Lebanese Army, to control and protect the frontier. The Phalange used the southern militias to put pressure on Syria and the central government to revoke the Cairo Accords, disarm the Palestinian organizations and redistribute the Palestinians of Lebanon among the Arab countries (Traboulsi, 2007, p. 202).

On August 12, 1976, the Palestinian camp fell after 6 months of resistance, followed by conciliation between Al Asad in Syria and Sadat in Egypt under the patronage of King Khalid of Saudi Arabia. On October 21, 1976, there was declaration of ceasefire with the deployment of Syrian troops, the Arab Deterrence Forces (ADF), and symbolic participation of troops from other Arab countries (Traboulsi, 2007, p. 201).

In March of 1978, Israel invaded South Lebanon (an action known as Operation Litani) and created a security zone controlled by Lebanese auxiliaries, giving way to the UN Interim Forces in Lebanon (Achcar & Warschawski, 2007, p. 4). This set the grounds for future Israeli incursion and invasions into Lebanese borders.

In March of 1979, the Egyptian president signed the Camp David Accords under the patronage of President Carter, which led to a major "change in Damascus priorities toward the PLO" with a "mounting Israeli offensive in Lebanon" that went hand in hand with the progress registered in the peace negotiations with Egypt (Traboulsi, 2007, p. 205). "Sharon vision for a new regional order envisaged a Christian Lebanon under Bashire Jumayil, an Israeli West Bank and a Palestinian Jordan" (Traboulsi, 2007, p. 205).

On June 6, 1982, Israel marched into Lebanon upon the invitation of Phalange leader Bashire Jumayil and ostensibly to protect northern Israel from Palestinian rockets, therefore calling the invasion "Peace in Galilee" (Achcar & Warschawski, 2007, p. 5). One week after Bashire Jumayil's inauguration speech, on September 14, he was assassinated at his Phalange headquarters in East Beirut. The next day, on September 15, Israeli forces seized west Beirut

after three months of fighting and oversaw the massacre of Palestinians and Lebanese living in Sabra and Shatila camps at the hands of the Lebanese Forces, headed by Samir Geagea and Elie Hobeika, commanders in chief for Bashire Jumayil (Traboulsi, 2007, p. 220).

On September 21 of the same year, Amin Jumayil was elected as a president, succeeding his assassinated brother. With Amin Jumayil as president, and the Phalange party in power, “Lebanon had two presidents of the republic-the father and the son-two commanders in chief of its armed forces, one commanding the regular army and the other the Lebanese forces, both controlled by the Israeli army” (Traboulsi, 2007, p. 212).

On the eve of 1983, “Lebanon was a country divided into parts: one resisted the Israeli occupation with arms and another negotiated a peace accord with Israel” (Traboulsi, 2007, p. 220). “Armed resistance to the occupation was the determine factor that transformed the two weeks stroll into a bloody adventure that would cost the Israeli army hundreds of soldiers killed” (Traboulsi, 2007, p. 222).

On September 27, 1982, Israel partially retreated from West Beirut, embarrassed by the reaction to the Sabra and Shatilamassacres and the escalation of armed operation against its soldiers. Assassinations targeting its soldiers was estimated at the “rate of one operations every five hours” (Traboulsi, 2007, p. 223).

In June 1983, one year after the invation, strikes took place in most towns and villages of the South and western Beqaa. This was combined with suicide bomb attacks carried by the National Resistance Movement, established by the Communist Party, and Hizballah[54] (Traboulsi, 2007, p. 223).

After a year under occupation, those who beleived that the Israeli troops would dislodge the Palestinian resistance and retreat behind the borders, realized by then that the occupation was there to stay. This led to the mobilization of Harket Amalto resist the occupation (Traboulsi 2007). This was accompanied by militant acts of resistance againt the occupation forces; they hurled grenades, planted landmines, attacked soldiers, launched raids against posts, roadblocks and campsand organized ambushes against military convoys. They also succeeded in starting a massive civil resistance movement in the south and among thousands of prisoners in the Ansar prison camp (Traboulsi, 2007, p. 228).

[54] At that time, Hizballah was recently created and operating under the banner of “Islamic Resistance”; it was a group established by Shii religious leaders, funded by Iran and supported by Syria.

In September of 1983, the Israeli army withdrew from Alay and Shuf in order to exert pressure on Jumayil to sign the peace accord. Eighteen months later, on February 17, 1985, Israeli forces withdrew from Sidon and the area of the Beirut-Damascus road near the border strip, putting an end to the 1982 occupation with the exception of the Jizzine region. Israel had lost around 500 soldiers during its occupation (Traboulsi, 2007, p. 225). In the western Beqaa, the accord negotiated by the United States specified that "Syrian troops would not enter the zones south of the Beirut-Damascus road, through Lebanese army units loyal to Damascus were tolerated with the discreet participation of Syrian intelligence officers in them" (Traboulsi, 2007, p. 226).

On December 28, 1985, a tripartite agreement was signed in Damascus by the three leading militia chieftains: Walid Jumblat, Nabih Berri and Eli Houbeika. The signatories of the accord pledged to end the war and dissolve all the militias within one year. Politically, it established parity in a sectarian representation between Christians and Muslims, the abolition of political sectarians after a short transitional period, and the establishment of a "new balance in the prerogatives of the president of the republic in favor of the prime minister and cabinet (Traboulsi, 2007, p. 226). Economically the accord stipulated close bilateral collaboration while respecting the difference between the respective economic systems of Syria and Lebanon with the idea of Syria becoming the "consumer market for Lebanon" (Traboulsi, 2007, p. 226).

Up until 1984, the economic situation within the country was good. This is attributed to increase in PLO deposits in the Lebanese Banks, increase in PLO spending, and continuous flow of war-based funding, combined with economic assistance for war ravages, that kept the country in good shape. In 1984, the country plunged into a series of economic crises in all its sectors, including agricultural, industry, and services. The "Switzerland of the East" model was seriously impaired, and the economic situation within the country deteriorated. Public debt rose from LL 7 billion in 1981 to LL 35 billion in 1985, partially due to the decrease in state revenues and increase in military expenses. Bank deposits decreased from LL 12 billion in 1982 to LL 3 billion in 1990, mainly due to the withdrawal of PLO deposits in Lebanese Banks combined with withdrawal of foreign capital and its investment outside the country. Mass destruction in terms of infrastructure, buildings, and services was incurred throughout the country and predominantly in Beirut as a result of the civil war and in the South as a result of Israel occupation. This was accompanied by increase in cost of living and depreciation of income; vital minimum income for

a working family was estimated at LL 3,000, while an average worker's salary did not exceed LL 952. During the same period, the economy became dollarized and the LL plunged, resulting in its devaluation, most of which is attributed to the speculation on the dollar. This was combined with a complete halting of the productive sector of the country, which was already nonexistent, particularly as the country shifted into a "service-led economy" with the banking sector becoming one of its main poles along with the seriously impaired tourism sector (Traboulsi, 2007, p. 228).

In South Lebanon, the impact was drastic. The Israeli occupation resulted in death, destruction, and halting of agricultural production. Confiscation of the land, plunging of natural resources, unnecessary cutting down of trees, clearing of houses, and monitoring of mobility became a way of life in South Lebanon (Traboulsi, 2007). It was possible to leave the South and attempt re-entry only if one had obtained a permit from the Israeli headquarters at Kafr Falous. Permits did not prevent arrest at the Israeli Intelligence office at the Bater-Jezzine or Tyre-Naqoura crossing, or cut short the hours of waiting in long and difficult queues, or forestall the arbitrary closure of the crossing to suit the whims of the Israeli troops. Only the International Red Cross workers were able to take their cars across with impunity (Mowles, 1986).

The Bater-Jezzine and Tyre-Naqoura crossing was also a means of imposing an economic blockade on the South, preventing the free movement of goods out of and into the occupied territory. It was a familiar sight when approaching the crossing from Beirut to come across over a mile of trucks, some of which had been waiting for days to gain access to the South. The prospect of such a wait was daunting for anyone wishing to transport perishable commodities. Nor could the trucks be driven across once they had been cleared; they had to be unloaded and the goods carried on to other vehicles waiting on the far side of the crossing. The occupation destroyed ordinary life. No one leaving for work in the morning could guarantee arriving on time, or even getting there at all, so arbitrary were road blocks and arrests (Mowles, 1986).

Furthermore, the Israelis arbitrarily and selectively imposed bans on certain types of goods reaching the South; building materials and bitumen for road repairs were both banned for a time, and all clinics in the South suffered throughout the period from shortages of one type of drug or another, whether it be penicillin or medicines for the treatment of diarrhoea. Costs of such commodities soared in the South, and many local humanitarian organizations were running up huge deficits on drugs bills alone. The blockade cut both ways; while Israeli agricultural

produce flooded markets in the South, local citrus rotted on the trees. Local growers could not afford to pick it when there was no guarantee of the produce ever reaching Beirut. Poorer Lebanese and Palestinians, dependent upon the citrus groves for agricultural wages, faced even greater hardship with unemployment coupled with rising prices (Mowles, 1986).

There are very few reliable figures, or even sources for figures estimating the damage to the economic infrastructure and production in the South. However, a report from the Sidon Chamber of Commerce for 1983 (i.e., before the economic blockade really began) estimated that the industrial sector in the South witnessed a drop-off of 50% of sales since before the invasion. Coupled with this was an increase of 60% in the cost of raw materials. Meanwhile, the Chamber of Commerce report states that the agricultural exports for 1983 were 50% of those of 1981; the fall-off of this sector is reckoned to have hit the South hardest because up to 40% of the population were said to gain their income from it. Agriculture is also seen to have suffered from the exodus of young people from the South occasioned by the Israeli occupation. An article in the *Financial Times* of February 19, 1985, quotes Hussein Khanan, ex-chairman of the Council for the South, as estimating citrus production down 85% since before the invasion. After the invasion, IMF report indicated that that real output was expected to be about half of the corresponding level before the conflict began in 1975 (Mowles, 1986).

Economic facts and figures do not adequately convey the sense of isolation, desperation, and claustrophobia suffered by the population of South Lebanon. The environment of everyday life became one of fear and uncertainty. Because the cost of living was rising steeply, and unemployment was rife, coupled with the fact that many families had male breadwinners in Beirut or locked up in Ansar, most local development organizations found that all of their budgets were being consumed by welfare work. The overall effect of the occupation was to reduce the general level of self-sufficiency of the communities in South Lebanon and to make them dependent on welfare handouts from large welfare organizations, which are usually confessional and based in Lebanon, or on smaller, secularly run NGOs. The increasing role such organizations were playing in community support made them a target for Israeli attacks (Mowles, 1986).

During this period, the weekly markets, as most of the towns and villages of South Lebanon, were under occupation. Even though life and even economic life continued, the markets came under strict control with a shift in the products and commodities traded to reflect

"occupation" policies. The markets reflected the economy of the invader and the occupier. Even though they convened on the weekly days, they reflected a period of economic difficulty. During this period, the products and merchandise most reflected local needs, and therefore excess in production was mostly sold locally. The markets provided spaces in which people would convene and exchange. This continued until 1985 for Souk Nabatieh and 2000 for Souk Bint Jbeil, after 22 years of occupation. During the Israeli occupation the market function was intermixed with border relations with Israel, and therefore included the interplay of Lebanese and Israeli products within the country and consequently the political economy of both countries. During the occupation, and particularly in the early period of the occupation and before the organization of the resistance, the flow of traders between Lebanon and Israel was reestablished, and Israeli products started flooding Lebanese markets. It was common to find Israeli manufactured commodities, including candy, ice cream, sugar, and milk, particularly in South Lebanon. The proximity of the region to Israel made it easier for the flow of the products northward then southward from the capital and Mount Lebanon to the South.

Weekly Markets during the Post Civil War Period (1990 to date)

On October 22, 1989, the Taif Agreement was signed, ending 25 years of civil war. In 1990, the government embarked on a national plan for the development and reconstruction of Lebanon. The reconstruction efforts centered around Beirut and the capital cities for the different governates. There were few efforts to reach out to the rural areas. The markets and the region of South Lebanon did not benefit from the economic and reconstruction process of Lebanon. In fact, core-periphery issues and rural-urban differences (pointed out by the IRFED study) were further extenuated due to the absence of development, reconstruction, and investment in infrastructure and social services in this region.

In 2000, Israel withdrew from the security zone in South Lebanon. This led to the end of the occupation and opening of the borders between villages south and north of the security line. The Muhafaza of Nabatieh, specifically the Caza of Bint Jbeil and Caza of Marjeyoun with their 36 and 19 municipalities respectively, were the most affected as the towns and villages in these cazas opened to markets outside the caza. After 2000, Souk Bint Jbeil took on a different dimension as it reconvened for the first time under freedom from the occupation. This was reflected in the number of stands, vendors, products, customers, and other stakeholders involved in the market. For the first time, families were able to reconvene at the market without fear of

the occupier. Families gathered on days of the market, and in the summer, the market became more vibrant as Lebanese families living abroad came to spend the summer in Bint Jbeil.

In 2006, Israel's war on Lebanon, carried out under the name of *Israel war on Hizballah*, resulted in 1200 casualties, more than 400 injured, more than one quarter of Lebanese displaced (1 million), more than 500,000 houses destroyed, and the complete devastation of South Lebanon, including more than 100 bridges, oil refineries, major access roads, 30,000 housing units in South Lebanon, and more than 70,000 housing units in Beirut's eastern suburb, 1.2 million cluster bombs spread out across its agricultural land, towns and villages and total incurred deficit of more than 2.8 billion dollars (IMF, 2007).

The war had drastic impact on the markets in South Lebanon, particularly Bint Jbeil Thursday Market. It was destroyed along with the old shops, buildings, and government offices that date back to the Ottoman period. As a result, the shops normally situated within this market were moved down the road to pre-fabricated units set up until the end of the reconstruction process. Even though the Thursday Market continued to reconvene, it didn't have the space, robustness, and size it used to have.

Since 1990, Lebanon witnessed a resurrection of weekly and/or seasonal markets all over the country. In every other city across the country, weekly markets were established by municipalities or citizens. In the capital city, few weekly markets emerged, the most prominent of which is Sunday Market. It is a flea-style periodic market that emerged just after the end of the civil war in 1990 and came to be known as the Sunday Market, located between East and West Beirut, next to what was known as Beirut River, just under a highway that connects Beirut to Mount Lebanon, North Lebanon, and Beqaa. It is open from 7:00 a.m. to 1:00 p.m. with tin and tent covers and filled with various stands selling antique jewelry, clothing and beads, electronic equipment, birds, fish, balloons, and even vegetables and fruits. It is considered the "bargain" shopping space. Today it has become a market space for foreign workers who visit the market on their day off. Other weekly markets that emerged in Beirut during this period are Souk El Tayeb and Earth Market. They are both farmers markets that sell organic and non-organic village produce. They are North American- and European-inspired farmers markets focusing on household produced fruits, vegetables, cheese, and other processed goods brought to the city by farmers. These markets cater to 1% of Beirut's educated middle upper class. The markets are held on Tuesday and Saturday every week from 9:00 a.m. to 2:00 p.m. and they are

part of the organic and slow food movement in Beirut, promoting traditional methods of farming and preserving and selling a wide variety of fruits, vegetables, preserves, baked goods, cheese, and crafts. Both were created by research university professors from the AUB community with support from USAID and the EC. A similar trend can be witnessed around the country in other towns and cities. In South Lebanon, weekly markets emerged in every other town and village in Caza of Nabatieh and Bint Jbeil, including Saksakieh, Bablieh, Nsar, and Srifa.

Appendix E

List of Formal Interviews Conducted Between 2010 and 2011

	Name	Title	Medium	Gender	Location	Date of Interview
1	Abdallah Fardoun	Former Mayor	Audio	M	Abbasieh	July 8, 2010
2	Hussein Jaafar	Former Mukhtar	Audio/ Video	M	Abbasieh	July 8, 2010
3	Anonymous	Group of Vendors	Video	M	Abbasieh	July 8, 2010
4	Anonymous	Old Man-Customer	Audio	M	Bezourieh	July 14, 2010
5	Ali Srour	Mayor	Notes	M	Bezourieh	July 14, 2010
6	Naji Mroueh	Fruit & Vegetable Vendor	Audio/ Video	M	Bint Jbeil	May 15, 2011
7	Rashed Saad	Butcher	Audio	M	Bint Jbeil	May 15, 2011
8	Mahmoud Faraj	Super Market	Audio	M	Bint Jbeil	May 15, 2011
9	Ibrahim Bazzi	Toy Vendor	Audio/ Video	M	Bint Jbeil	August 27, 2011
10	Anonymous	Fruit & Vegetable Vendor	Audio	M	Bint Jbeil	August 27, 2011
11	Anonymous	Textile Vendor	Audio	M	Bint Jbeil	August 27, 2011
12	Ghaleb Hassan Slika	School Teacher	Audio/ Video	M	Hasbaya	May 22, 2011
13	Hassan Moussa	Historian & Writer	Audio/ Video	M	Jbeia	July 23, 2009
14	Hosn San Kanbar	Old Woman	Audio/ Video	F	Kfar Rouman	April 3, 2011
15	Mr. Kanbar	Old Man- Fruit and VegetableVendor	Audio/ Video	M	Kfar Rouman	April 3, 2011
16	Mohamad Saad	Municipal Mayor	Audio	M	Marakeh	July 12, 2010
17	Anonymous	Fish Vendor	Audio	M	Marakeh	July 12, 2010
18	Abbas Wehbeh	Pharmacist	Audio/ Video	M	Nabatieh	April 17, 2011
19	Mohamad Daher	Book Vendor	Audio	M	Nabatieh	May 1, 2011
20	Husband and Wife	Clothes Vendor	Audio	M	Nabatieh	May 1, 2011
21	Kamel Jaber	Journalist	Audio/	M	Nabatieh	May 21, 2011

			Video			
22	Ihab	Junk Vendor	Audio	M	Nabatieh	July 9, 2011
23	Batoul	Hairdresser	Audio	F	Nabatieh	July 9, 2011
24	Khalil Rizk	Municipal Council Member, NGO worker	Audio	M	Nabatieh	August 21, 2011
25	Mustapha Badredeine	Former Mayor	Audio	M	Nabatieh	August 21, 2011
26	Anonymous	Vendor	Audio	M	Nsar	July 16, 2010
27	Ali Amin	Journalist, Choun Janoubieh	Audio	M	Sidon	December 12, 2015
28	Anonymous	Mayor	Audio	M	Saksakieh	July 31, 2010
29	No Names	Vendors & Customers	Audio		Saksakieh	July 31, 2010
30	Sharafeddine	Mayor	Audio/ Video	M	Shohur	August 5, 2010
31	No Names	4 Different Vendors	Audio/ Video	M	Shohur	August 5, 2010
32	Mohamad El Zein	Vendor	Audio/ Video	M	Shohur	August 5, 2010

Appendix F

List of Videos Filmed at Markets

	Location of Market	Individual(s) Interviewed in Video	Date of VideoCreation of Video
1	Srifa Market, Srifa, South Lebanon	Former Mayor Different weekly vendors	7/25/2010
2	Saksakieh Market, Saksakieh, South Lebanon	Former Mayor Different weekly vendors	7/31/2010
3	Shouhour Market, Shouhour, South Lebanon	Former Mayor Different weekly vendors	8/12/2010
4	Abbasieh Market, Abbasieh, South Lebanon	Former Mayor Different weekly vendors	7/9/2011
5	Marakeh Market, Marakeh, South Lebanon	Former Mayor Different weekly vendors	7/13/2011
6	Bezouroeh Market, Bezourieh, South Lebanon	Former Mayor Different weekly vendors	7/14/2011
7	Nsar Market, Nsar South Lebanon	Former Mayor Different weekly vendors	7/16/2011
8	Joya Market, Joya, South Lebanon	Former Mayor Different weekly vendors	8/14/2011
9	Grand Bazar, Istanbul	No Interviews	17/10/2015

Appendix G

Interview Guide

Origin

When did the market start?

What do you remember of the market in the past?

What was this market famous for?

Place

Was it in the same place or has it changed places? Why did it change places?

What was important or unique about the place?

How did the place come to be chosen? Who chose the place?

People

Why do people gather in the market?

Why do you come to the market?

What does the market mean for you?

How long do you spend in the market?

Whom do you see in the market?

What do you do in the market?

Products

What do you buy?

Do you buy on account/credit or cash?

Do you exchange?

Why do you buy these products from here?

What are some of the products that you buy here and can't them elsewhere?

Buying Habits

How is the market different on this day from other days of the week?

What makes this market different than one in Marakeh or one in Joya or one in Bint Jbeil?

Do you go to the big supermarkets? Cooperative? What do you buy there?

What do you buy from this market?

How long you have been buying these things from this market?

Municipalities

What services does the municipality offer? Stands, water, sewage, set-up, other?

Why the market was moved?

How have things differed with this move?

How do municipalities recruit vendors?

What is the average number of vendors you have in given week?

Does this change during specific periods? Festivals? Ramadan? Other?

Has the number increased or decreased? (before 2006/after 2006/in the 1980s/1990s/other)

During War

Throughout the years did the market continue to remain open?

When did it stop operating and what were the reasons for that?

During the occupation did it remain open? Who came to the market? What products were sold?

How did you manage to keep the market open?

What challenges have you faced?

Vendors

How long you have been coming to the market?

Do you go to other markets? Do you know the people here?

What do you sell? Where you get your products from?

How did you learn about this market?

What fees you pay to the municipality?

What does the municipality offer you in return?

What products do people most demand?

Do you have regular customers that come to you?

What are the busiest time of the day? Busiest periods?

Do things vary during seasons? Festivals? EID? Ramadan? Ashura?

How much do you pay per week? How much do you pay per year?

Future

How would you feel if there were no market in the future?

Do you think the markets will continue to exist?

How do you see the markets in 10 or 15 years?

Do you think the markets will come to be replaced by shopping malls or other entities?

How can these markets be improved?

Appendix H

Consent Form

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN

Markets and Market spaces in Lebanon

PhD Research Project

This is to state that I agree to participate in a program of research being conducted by Rana Taher, School of Graduate Studies, SIP program, Concordia University.

Telephone: (514) 6258259/ (961-3)936350 Email: rtaher@hotmail.com

A. PURPOSE

The purpose of this study is to explore the history, knowledge, thoughts, motivations and insights of stakeholders of markets in Lebanon to identify current and future opportunities for improve their role in the local economic and social process of communities and towns in which they are found.

B. PROCEDURES

I understand that I will be interviewed with audio and video recording. I can stop the interview at any time if I feel uncomfortable. I understand that my statements will serve as data for the study and the recorded material will be processed into video clips and could be published both in print and audio-visual forms with my consent.

C. RISKS AND BENEFITS

This study involves minimum risks, all of which can be mitigated through the confidentiality conditions outlined below. Our aim is to promote promising initiatives and our findings will be widely disseminated, which could bring beneficial attention and exposure for your project or organization. Furthermore, we are willing to reciprocate by volunteering our time and skills to your project.

D. CONDITIONS AND PARTICIPATION

I understand that I am free to withdraw my consent and discontinue my participation at any time without negative consequences.

- I permit ___, or I do not permit ___, the use of my real name in the study.

- I permit ___, or I do not permit ___, the recording of my image and voice for the purpose of the study.
- I permit ___, or I do not permit ___, the use and distribution of my recorded image and voice for the purpose of the study.
- I understand that the data from this study may be published.

I HAVE CAREFULLY STUDIED THE ABOVE AND UNDERSTAND THIS AGREEMENT. I FREELY CONSENT AND VOLUNTARILY AGREE TO PARTICIPATE IN THIS STUDY.

NAME (please print) ____

SIGNATURE ____

If at any time you have questions about your rights as a research participant, please contact Adela Reid, Research Ethics and Compliance Officer, Concordia University, at (514) 848-2424 x7481 or by email at areid@alcor.concordia.ca